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The Week

PRESIDENT Harding's appeal for the ratification of the treaties, prepared by the Washington Conference has rendered it practically impossible for the Senate to reject them. He is perfectly right in declaring that if the Senate should fail to ratify them, it would "discredit the influence of the Republic, render future efforts futile, or unlikely, and write discouragement where today the world is ready to acclaim new hope." He might have put the case even more strongly. Considering that the Conference was called by the American government and that the treaties embody in general the political and military results which the American government proposed to obtain, their rejection would make the American government both ridiculous and intolerable in the eyes of the other nations. Foreigners would thereafter regard the United States as a government with which it was hopeless to enter into any arrangement which implied on the part of the American people the recognition of a contingent responsibility.

IT is only the Four Power Treaty to which any serious objection is being taken, and the New Republic understands the force of these objections and sympathizes with the purposes of the objectors. The Treaty may induce the American government to be as complacent about future Japanese operations in China as the British government has been in the past. But this undesirable effect is only a possibility against which precautions can be taken, while the rejection of any one of the treaties would bring with it certain and deplorable disadvantages. The three agreements of major importance, viz: the limitation of naval armaments, the Nine Power and the Four Power Treaties form part of one whole and the rejection of any one of them would injure the authority and the power for good of the other two.

THE report of the American delegation to the Conference asserts the interdependence between the Four Power and the naval treaties in words which seem to us an unanswerable argument in favor of the ratification of both agreements. "Competitive armament" the report says, "is the result of a state of mind in which a national expectation of attack by some other country causes preparation to meet the attack." To stop competition it is necessary to deal with the state of mind from which it results. The negotiations which led to the Four-Power Treaty were the process of attaining that new state of mind, and the Four-Power Treaty itself was the expression of that state of mind. It terminated the Anglo-Japanese alliance and substituted friendly conference in place of war as the first reaction from any controversies which might arise in the region of the Pacific. It would not have been possible except as part of a plan, including a limitation and a reduction of naval armaments, but that limitation and reduction would not have been possible without the new relations established by the Four-Power Treaty or something equivalent to it.

MR. HOOVER'S report on the organization and activities of the various unaffiliated Russian relief organizations will disappoint those who had hoped for startling disclosures. It offers no evidence of the diversion of charitable funds to the support of the Red army or to the maintenance of a pernicious propaganda here. Some of these organizations appeal frankly to communist sympathizers and urge them to come to the aid of their Russian fellows, arguing that the cause of the Russian Revolution will be promoted by such proof of international working class solidarity. So far as we can see, they have a perfect right to argue what they please, so long as the funds they raise for relief go to relief. Thousands of Americans in deciding to give money to the Hoover Relief Administration have argued that the charity of the propertied classes would help to wean the Russian masses from their communistic extremism. It is idle to demand that the motives of giving should always be stripped clean of partisan theory; the most that can be required is that there shall be no partisanship in the actual administration of relief. No proof has been offered the public that this rule is violated either by the Hoover organization in Russia or by the Russian Red Cross. As for Mr. Hoover's general dogma, "I have considered at all times that American charity to all countries should be distributed in the name of America, under active American personnel," we think it is rather absolutistic. It would have excluded collections for the Allied Red Cross organizations during the war, for the relief of French orphans, and for other meritorious causes. It is a good rule for charity under the direct patronage of the government, and it is a pretty fair working rule generally where the giver needs assurance that his funds will not be diverted from their purpose. But at some times there will be non-American charitable organizations that some Americans trust. If they wish to give to such organizations Mr. Hoover would find it hard to offer a sound reason why they should not be permitted to do so.

WHATEVER the merits of the bonus, it is hard to find merits in the plans proposed for financing it. All that can be said for any one of those plans is that it is not so bad as the others. Ranged in the order of demerit, we should place a bond issue first, a sales tax second, and the Ways and Means sheaf of undesirable taxes, third. A bond issue to meet an expense which is essentially a gratuity would set a most unfortunate precedent. A nation, however rich, might run unconsciously along that path to utter bankruptcy. Furthermore, it would be very costly to the government

at a time when the success of extensive refunding operations is at stake. The sales tax is objectionable for two reasons. It would increase the cost of living and would do it in such uncertain and irregular fashion that nobody would know whether he was being mulcted by the government or by the profiteers. It would serve as an entering wedge in the movement to throw the burden of taxation from the large income class to the general body of consumers. Of the measures proposed by the Ways and Means Committee, the tax on theatre admissions is objectionable as penalizing in excess an industry already severely depressed. The taxes on gasoline and on automobile horsepower are indiscriminate and tax productive uses in the name of taxing luxury. The tax on the transfer of securities would disturb the balance of security values for a time, but in the end it would be borne chiefly by speculators, with whom the government need not be especially tender. The tobacco tax could we believe, be much increased without serious harm. But the method of taxing by tale or weigh is a bad one.

IN his speech on Lincoln day the President again expressed the irritation which the leaders of the Republican party feel at the frustration of their official program by the agricultural bloc. But he is unwise to condemn the farm representatives for upsetting the party plans unless he intends to declare war upon the insurgents. Up to date the rebels can parade the best possible justification for their rebellion, viz. success. They have extorted from Congress and from Mr. Harding many concessions which they would have besought in vain if they had not rebelled and asserted their power. The Republican leaders are being crowded into position which may soon become intolerably uncomfortable. But they do not relieve its distress and vindicate their own leadership by a mixed policy of yielding to the insurgents and of bewailing the bad political manners of their masters. They can either fish or cut bait. If they choose to cut bait they do not add to their prestige as sportsmen by scolding the aggressive and skilful fishermen.

CONSIDERING the reputation of the Republican leaders in their own mind as political realists, they certainly exhibit at times almost a genius for misunderstanding and ignoring obvious political and economic realities. The Republicans succeeded after 1912 in repairing one of the most serious breaches which had ever broken open the ranks of a great American party, and by so doing they increased the already enormous prestige of the exist-

ing partisan organizations. They convinced their fellow countrymen that an American citizen cannot for the present count in active politics outside the two major parties. But they do not seem capable of grasping the manifest consequences of their successful demonstration. If an American citizen cannot exercise political power outside the two national parties and if at the same time his own personal prosperity seems to him to chiefly depend on the welfare of his class, there is nothing for him to do except to insist so far as he successfully can upon the assertion of his class interests within the party. The more indispensable and inclusive national parties become in an economically diversified and distracted society, the more certainly they condemn themselves to unwieldiness and inefficiency. They cannot provide a home for the many different classes which are conscious of conflicting interests and at the same time maintain the unity and practice the discipline of a political army.

THE note which the French government has communicated to the Allied governments and the United States with respect to the Genoa Conference places Mr. Lloyd George in an awkward position. M. Poincaré by refusing to consent to French participation unless France is guaranteed against any tampering with the treaties has landed his blow on the British Prime Minister's weakest spot. Mr. Lloyd George has never admitted any intention of tampering with the Treaty of Versailles. He still defends it in public and he has never repudiated its most flagrant violations of the armistice terms and of public right. Yet unless he was ready to tamper with the Treaty, why should he bother to invite Russia and Germany to sit as the equals of France and Great Britain in an international conference? The insecurity, the restlessness and the dissensions of Europe are traceable ultimately to the fact that two great European peoples, the Russians and the Germans, were not consulted about the terms of the treaties which were supposed to constitute the future public law of Europe. It is absurd to call a conference devoted to European reconstruction and to invite representatives of the governments of these peoples to sit there as equals, unless the authors of the treaty are prepared to listen to what the Russian and the German delegates have to say about the constitution under which they are trying but failing to live.

PROBABLY this vulnerability in Mr. Lloyd George's position will eventually cause his downfall. It seems scarcely possible that any statesman even of his political flexibility can openly and

frankly repudiate the settlement for which he is so largely responsible. Yet Europe must either repudiate it or continue to travel the road to disintegration which on another page of this issue Mr. Moulton surveys with so much perspicacity. Mr. Lloyd George fully understands the necessity of reuniting Europe on some new foundation of public law. He is undertaking the task of European reconstruction with something of the zeal and passion of a Welsh non-conformist minister. But his own past prevents him from undertaking the job in as candid and thoroughgoing a spirit as its immensity and importance demand. It was his reckless and unscrupulous election promises about the indemnity which forced him to insist on including pensions and separation allowance in the bill against Germany and that insistence, assisted by the casuistry of General Smuts, resulted in the insertion in the Treaty of its most unjust and mischievous provision. The statesman who is to bring unity and recovery to Europe must have the courage to proclaim this mistake and the power to repair it.

“The Public Profession of the Law”

FROM time immemorial, attack against the lawyers has been a great popular sport. Usually, the more intensely the public attacked the profession, the surer was its own note of self-adulation. We are witnessing at present a striking phenomenon. The legal profession is most fiercely assailed in its own household; self-criticism is the dominant note. Bar association meetings are no longer respectable without heavy jeremiads. Up to a decade ago rapid eloquence and beakers flowed in unquestioned adulation of the common law as the perfection of reason, the Constitution as the dispenser of all our blessings and the Bar as the noble Votaries of the law and the Constitution. These days of romantic complacency are over. The Bar associations themselves have taken the lead in frankly recognizing that the reign of law is threatened in this country, and threatened mostly by the lawyers. In a word, the Bar has become anxiously conscious of the fact that there has been a steady invasion of the unfit into its ranks. The inevitable has come to pass: low-grade law schools and low-grade Bar examinations have combined to produce a low-grade Bar.

Deep-rooted causes affecting our national life have been operating. Partly, there has been a survival of the pioneer prejudice against lawyers

and the desire to keep the machinery of the law easily accessible to laymen and to lay influences. This feeling expresses itself to this day in the Constitution of Indiana, whereby anyone "of good moral character" is entitled to practice law. Reinforcing this prejudice came the Jacksonian dogma of versatility whereby in a democracy everybody is fit to be everything. Commercial enterprise took advantage of these perversions of democracy in money-making law schools, and thus afforded access to a genteel profession with a minimum of training and a minimum of effort. At the same time admission to the Bar by "reading law" in the office of some capable and high-minded practitioner survived in form long after the substance of such training was completely crowded out by the circumstances of modern practice. Both these sources—low-grade commercial law schools and sham "office training"—sustained by the maintenance of low-grade standards for admission to the Bar have brought to the Bar a heavy influx of the obviously unfit. The indifferentism of the Bar, its deep-rooted individualism, its lack of corporate organization, unlike the Bar of England, all conspired to give unrestricted scope to the commercial law schools in their exploitation of the "democratic" dogma.

The consequences are by this time a thrice-told tale. So to debase the Bar was bound to debase the administration of justice. The art of social hydraulics has not yet been able to evade the stern social law which prevents a stream from rising higher than its source. The effects are seen in the practical breakdown of the administration of criminal justice, revealed by the recent Cleveland Survey; they are written in the removal proceedings against District Attorneys Tufts and Pelletier, in Massachusetts; they were epitomized a few years ago by the present Chief Justice when he characterized the administration of our criminal law as "a disgrace to civilization," and condemned the civil side of our courts for justice-defeating delays; the story is told in Reginald Heber Smith's *Justice and the Poor*; it is symbolized in the fact of three trials for Arbuckle—a thing inconceivable in England.

At last the American Bar Association itself was moved, stimulated doubtless by the extraordinary achievements of the American Medical Association in lifting the standards of medical education. At its meeting last August it adopted the resolutions of a special committee, headed by Mr. Root, pledging the national association to the enactment in every state of minimum standards for admission to the Bar. These standards call for two years' college attendance, as a preliminary training, and graduation from a law school furnish-

ing three years of intensive professional training (and a longer course if students do not substantially devote all their time to their studies,) and adequately equipped with a professional teaching force. In order to unite all state and local Bar associations in an effective movement for the realization of this program, the American Bar Association will hold a conference of Bar Association Delegates in Washington, on February 23d and 24th. A real "drive" to stimulate opinion, and thereby to attain its objectives, is being organized for the first time by the American Bar Association.

This determined effort by the American Bar Association to lift the standards of the legal profession should receive the most vigorous public support. In and outside of the profession, it will encounter the opposition of the Jacksonian prejudice. Sentimental and demagogic appeals, which identify democracy with the open door to the untrained and the unfit, will be skilfully exploited those who turn the cult of incompetence to commercial profit. Undoubtedly every element in our population should bear its part in the administration of our democratic and legal polity. Undoubtedly also this means that admission to the Bar should be accessible to all who can qualify for the training necessary to exercise the functions of a lawyer. It must not be confined to the well-to-do. But this essential is not to be satisfied by permitting, and even beckoning, everybody to practice law,—the fit and the unfit, the trained and the untrained. This, indeed, would make of democracy the philosophy of the lowest common denominator. The democratic principle demands not the cult of incompetence and the degradation of the processes of law, but access to the facilities for education and training to all who can master them, and access to all the offices of state by all who are capable of filling them, irrespective of artificial class distinctions.

Perhaps the most important paper of the forthcoming Washington conference is that of President Angell of Yale on *The Economic Conditions and Educational Opportunities in the United States Which Enable the Ambitious Boy of Slender Means to Obtain at Least Two Years of College Training*. If President Angell—and no one is more competent than he to speak on this topic—is able to maintain his theses, the chief objection to the proposed standards of the Bar Association is met. On the other hand, if the existing facilities are inadequate the answer is to extend their accessibility to the poor but capable, and not to tolerate further the degradation of law.

We strongly hope, therefore, for the nation-

wide adoption of the proposals of the American Bar Association as speedily as possible. But we also regard this as only a beginning, or, at least, only part of a program necessary to set the legal house in order. It should be the business of the Bar association to concern itself not merely with the number of years of needed professional training, but also to scrutinize the nature of the lawyer's training. A three years' curriculum at law schools is very little guarantee that the curriculum is adapted to present or future needs, or that it will turn out lawyers fit to grapple with their problems. Legal educators, like Dean Pound and Dean Wigmore, have given vigorous expression to the need of revision of our law school curricula. It is a far more penetrating problem than one of pedagogy. "Taught law is tough law." The "law" with which students are indoctrinated may a generation later guide a Secretary of War in his attitude toward federal control over surplus water-power and still more frequently may determine the scope of the police power of the states. Particularly in the in the law schools, and still more important, the most important field of public law, it makes all the difference in the world whether our law schools conceive of law as inspired dogma or merely as an instrument of progressive social engineering.

But how is the Bar Association equipping itself "from time to time to inspect the law schools of the United States"? Thus far what leadership there has been in fashioning the law as an instrument expressing the interests of the community, has come from the law schools, and next to nothing from the Bar. "The law is a public profession," Mr. Root and his associates tell us, "by which, more than by any other profession, the economic life and the government of the country are moulded." And how they have moulded it since Reconstruction days! They have intensified, instead of helped to solve, the difficulties arising from the great concentration of capital; they have intensified, instead of helped to solve, the growing industrial conflict. So far as the point of view of the Bar has reflected itself in the judgments of our highest Court, constitutional law has been used to no inconsiderable extent as a means of hampering both nation and states in the solution of our most pressing problems. He would be a complacent critic, indeed, who would assert with assurance that the whole in-pour of shyster lawyers has done the cause of "law and order" as much harm as, for instance, the decision of the distinguished and high-minded judges who constituted the majority in the *Adair* case. That the prestige of the legal profession has been measurably lowered in recent decades has been testified to by so careful an observer as the late Lord Bryce. Undoubtedly there has

been a falling off in the intellectual standard of the profession, but that by no means explains the cause for the decline of the lawyer's ascendancy; that by no means accounts for the threatened menace to the supremacy of law.

The root explanation of the loss of prestige of the legal profession must be looked for in the standards of leadership of the Bar. The simple fact is that for the last generation clients have had lawyers, and not lawyers clients. What today constitutes "leadership" at the Bar has been accurately portrayed by Dean Pound of Harvard:

Today leadership seems to have passed to the client-caretaker. The office of a leader of the bar is a huge business organization. Its function is to advise, to organize, to reorganize, and direct business enterprises, to point out dangers and mark safe channels and chart reefs for the business adventurer, and in our older communities to act, as one might say, as a steward for the absentee owners of our industries. The actual administration of justice in the courts interests him only as it discloses reefs or bars or currents to be avoided by the pilot of business men. Thus the leaders of the bar in the cities are coming to be divorced not only from the administration of criminal justice, but from the whole work of the courts, and the most effective check upon judicial administration of justice is ceasing to be operative.

No wonder Mr. Root, in his presidential address to the American Bar Association in 1916, directed attention to the preoccupation of the Bar with individual interests and its neglect of the interests of the community. This is almost an ingrained habit with the American lawyer, and it characterizes, with meagre exceptions, the greatest names in the profession. Except Charles E. Hughes and others in the case of the Socialist expulsions, what leaders of the Bar protested in behalf of law when Attorney General Palmer and other law officers tore the Constitution to tatters? Why did not so distinguished a leader of the Bar as Governor and ex-Judge Miller say a word about the unconstitutional search and seizure directed against the so-called Reds, while he promptly invoked the sanctity of the Fourth Amendment of the Constitution in the enforcement of prohibition? And what is to be said of Senator George Wharton Pepper, one of the members of Mr. Root's committee on legal education, who is outraged by the deteriorating moral standards of those admitted to the Bar, but finds it wholly compatible with his leadership of the Bar to cast his first vote as Senator for the retention of Senator Newberry?

By all means let us insist on a richer cultural background for lawyers, a more intensive and riper legal education. But intellectual mastery is not enough. Nay, more, it is more dangerous to the

State than a superficially trained Bar, if such mastery is wielded by men who identify the advancement of individual interest, be it that of powerful clients or their own antiquated notions of "freedom", into the public function of the law. If it be true, and it is true, that the law, more than any other profession, "moulds the economic life and the government of the country," then the Bar must be equipped by the quality of its intellectual outlook, its humility, its insight and its ideals to guide the country into ways which make the good life possible. Law schools and curricula may do much. But above all the leadership of the Bar must dedicate itself to those public duties which it professes.

Conference As a Method of International Legislation

IT is an open secret that in proposing a European Congress in which Germany and Russia would sit as equals among equals, the British Premier was very much influenced by the example and the lessons of the Washington gathering. The performance at Washington confirmed his conviction as to the value and necessity of conference in bringing about international adjustments. For centuries governments had, of course, used conferences as the indispensable method of framing treaties of peace at the end of wars, but in these instances the deciding influence in dictating the terms of the treaty was not a free negotiation among the conferees which ended in general conviction and consent, but the comparative military strength of the several belligerents at the end of the war. The conference translated into political terms the achievements of force. The Washington Conference, on the other hand, was not in a position to register a verdict previously rendered by military victory or stalemate. President Harding called it in order to remove by negotiation causes of international friction which might subsequently develop into war. Its authors hoped to accomplish by public discussion and agreement among the governments with interests in the Far East the kind of political change which had usually needed war for its accomplishment. They attained a measure of success, and their success fired Mr. Lloyd George with the desire to emulate their example. Europe like the Far East was busily accumulating a snarl of animosities, misunderstandings, quarrels and convictions of mutual incompatibility which unless they were disentangled by agreement were certain

to provoke a renewed war. Could not Great Britain accomplish in Europe by the method of conference the measure of political readjustment which the American government had begun to accomplish in the Far East?

Considerations of this kind, we have sound reason for believing, persuaded Mr. Lloyd George to propose the Genoa Conference. It was a brave and perhaps a salutary idea; but he encountered one serious difficulty in carrying it out. The American government was in a stronger position to bestow upon a Far Eastern Conference the kind of reality which might enable it to accomplish by discussion and agreement really fruitful political changes than the British government was with respect to Europe. If legislation about the Far Eastern disagreements were left to the verdict of war, victory or defeat would depend upon a preponderance of naval power. The American government occupied with respect to naval power a position more advantageous than either Japan or Great Britain combined, and it had a good chance, if it had preferred and insisted, of dictating by force or by a combination of force or diplomacy the kind of legislation which its rulers preferred. It adopted precisely the opposite course. It not only submitted the disagreements to the verdict of a conference, but it began the conference by renouncing its potential superiority of naval power and by proposing a limitation of naval armaments which prohibited any one member of the naval triumvirate from forcing its will upon the other. This act of military self-denial gave the necessary vitality to the conference as a conference. It extinguished the possibility of obtaining a settlement in the Far East favorable to America as the result of war.

But in the case of the European snarl Great Britain does not occupy a sufficiently strong position to follow the American example with respect to the Far East. Whenever war again overtakes Europe, the most immediately dangerous, if not the ultimately decisive, weapon of victory will be a preponderant army rather than a preponderant navy, and France rather than Great Britain possesses the preponderant army. The British government can not, consequently, begin a European conference with an act of renunciation as edifying as the American prologue to the Washington Conference. It was only France which could start the proceedings at Genoa with an overture of peace, and the French government did not have the remotest intention of surrendering the political preponderance on the European continent which it exercised by virtue of its military supremacy.

French foreign policy did not and, unless it were radically changed, could not win confirmation by the free consent of other European nations. It is as much the creature of an apparently irresistible army as was German foreign policy from 1873 until 1914. During those years Germany exercised a power which she had won by military victory and her rulers adapted their political policy to their expectation that they could, if necessary, overcome opposition to their designs. At the Hague Conference her government frankly defended war and armies as agencies of international legislation and its militarism prevented those conferences from moving in the direction of disarmament. France assumes a similarly aggressive attitude in the existing tableau of Europe. Unless she relaxes, the Genoa Conference will fail as a substitute for war as completely as the Hague Conferences. As long as France by virtue of her military superiority flourishes a foreign policy to which other nations would not submit if it were not for her military superiority, Mr. Lloyd George cannot substitute conference for war as a method of bringing about political readjustments in Europe.

We are calling attention to this characteristic of conference as an agency of international adjustment because, if it is not understood, its prestige as a method which as the only possible substitute for war and revolution it is important to preserve, may suffer from its ill-advised and careless use. Conference is government by unanimous consent. It constitutes, as Mr. Hughes pointed out in his speech at the last plenary session of the Conference, the kind of tribunal in which the dissenting minority opinion prevails. The power which it confers on a minority of insisting on being consulted is its peculiar virtue, but it is a virtue which in the present state of international public opinion brings with it a corresponding weakness. For at present the necessity of unanimity confers more power upon an unscrupulous, self-centred and powerful minority than it does on one which is scrupulous and disinterested. A conference assembles usually under somewhat critical conditions. Decisions are necessary. Every member of the conference exposes himself to moral pressure by the majority not to insist on his own policy at the expense of breaking up the conference. In so far as the conference is composed of members who are honestly seeking a fair adjustment by general consent, such pressure is desirable and useful, but in so far as its less scrupulous members may use it to coerce a reluctant associate to consent to unprincipled decisions, then it becomes a dubious tribunal for a disinterested nation to join. It was a pre-

dicament of this kind in which President Wilson found himself in Paris. He was the dissenting minority, but if he pushed his dissent to the point of breaking up the conference, he would expose himself in a weak position to the attack of his American enemies and could be accused with plausibility of instigating European revolution and postponing the much needed peace. His motives for agreeing to decisions of which he did not approve were more powerful than those of his associates, and they naturally took advantage of his weakness. The result was his signature of the unprincipled bargain of the Treaty of Versailles.

In his speech of January 21st Mr. Lloyd George declared with entire truth that the only possible escape from the existing European snarl was conference, and he characterized conference as a method of "bringing the nations to the test of reason and not of force." These assertions are to our mind emphatically and entirely true, but they imply on the part of conference as a method of bringing reason rather than force to bear on international dissensions an infirmity against which the more disinterested nations must guard. If the majority of the members of a conference are seeking an agreement by consent and only one exceptionally powerful nation opposes the general disposition, it is important that conference should provide some expedient to deal with this predicament. Unless conferences are to be blackmailed by intractable and unscrupulous minorities, their members must face the necessity of inventing and sometimes using a non-physical weapon for overcoming the resistance of the offender.

The most available weapon is obviously political and moral isolation. That is the only appropriate and sufficient penalty which a pacific society of nations can inflict on its unscrupulously egotistic and aggressive members. The penalty of isolation, like all other penalties, is liable to abuse. Germany abused it when after the Franco-Prussian war she tried and for many years succeeded in isolating France. But France escaped finally from isolation because not even the political and military preponderance of Germany in Europe was sufficient permanently to deny to France the honorable and important place to which she was entitled in European counsels. France is now trying in turn to isolate Germany and Russia, and the object of the Genoa Conference is fundamentally to bring this deplorable isolation to an end. The Poincaré government opposes a conference which by restoring Germany and Russia to an equality with other nations in the counsels of Europe is bound to jeopardize the Treaty of Versailles which was framed

without consulting them. If the French government persists in this attitude, there is only one sufficient answer which is to inflict on France the penalty which she wishes to fasten indefinitely on Germany.

Inasmuch as its infliction may provoke the French government into some desperate tour de force of national self-assertion such as the occupation of the Ruhr Bassin, isolation is a dangerous weapon. Yet it is a weapon which will, we think, have to be used in the end if the neighbors and associates of France are to root out the militarism and power politics which are destroying the integrity of Europe. They must recognize that the isolation of France is a dangerous penalty to inflict just because it is a terrible penalty. It is tantamount to the outlawing of French national policy at the bar of public opinion. It is the modern equivalent of mediaeval excommunication and its authority will depend upon its employment only on rare occasions and for unexceptional causes. It is, of course, easy enough to invoke isolation against a beaten enemy, as France was in 1871 or Germany in 1918, but wars will continue until the society of nations dare to employ it also against an offender powerful enough to be dangerous and successful enough to blind men's eyes. To use the dangerousness of French militarism as an excuse for buying it off and placating it is only to confirm its authority and to increase its vitality. Public opinion must dare to oppose it and to oppose it not by any counter demonstration of force but by moral coercion: The isolation of France may result in some years of further disorder, but if the disintegration is to continue it will be salutary in the long run not to confuse the responsibility for it but to place it squarely on the shoulders of M. Poincaré & Co. So far as we can see there is no other way of qualifying conference, as the agency of consent and reason and as the enemy of force, to assume the function of legislating for the society of nations.

Paying the Piper

The struggle will be bitter and violent, for it will present itself to each of the contesting interests as an affair of life and death. The most powerful influences and motives of self interest and self preservation will be engaged. Conflicting conceptions of the end and nature of Society will be ranged in conflict. *Keynes, A Revision of the Treaty, p. 86.*

THAT this forecast is sound, applied as Mr. Keynes applies it, to Germany, needs no arguing. A colossal burden of taxation impends: for the indemnity charges, for the internal debt,

and for reconstruction. No really serious attempt has yet been made to distribute the whole of this burden definitely among the several economic and social classes. The government raises what taxes it can and makes up its budgetary deficits—invariably huge ones—by additional issues of paper money. But this is only to postpone the evil day when the government must decide in what proportions the several classes shall take up their burdens. We need not blame the government too severely because it has not yet solved the problem. Party lines have already been drawn with reference to it. Party passions have been raised to white heat. Erzberger attempted last summer to put through a measure making wealth pay more than the men of wealth regarded as their share. He was assassinated. His fate may explain the reluctance of other moderate political leaders to father vigorous taxation measures.

Lay the taxes on wealth, and the furious hatred of the rich will be aroused. Lay them on the poor, in the form of heavy consumption taxes, and an epidemic of strikes and rioting will break out. Such is the situation the German government must face. "Conflicting conceptions of the end and nature of society," have already emerged, at this early stage in the German taxation struggle. At one extreme is the conception of the Stinnes group, of a state restricted to the narrowest police function, with combined business determining all the vital issues of social life—a dream of the logical consummation of modern capitalism. At the other extreme is the communistic conception of a state in which the government is controlling partner in every enterprise and all surplus above earned income is appropriated to public uses. Majority opinion lies between the extremes, but it remains to be seen whether it will develop sufficient consistency to mediate a compromise, or whether it will polarize about the extremes and make solution impossible except by the revolutionary method.

Well, Germany danced; let her pay the piper as best she can, our unregenerate war propagandists will observe complacently. Germany danced, and so did all the other nations that maintained groups of traditional minded statesmen who regarded war as a useful and legitimate instrument of policy. Germany maintained the Kaiser and the architects of the Berlin to Bagdad project. Our side maintained Sazonoff and Panslavism, Poincaré and the revanche, Winston Churchill and cannier statesmen who thought that England might fish profitably in troubled waters. History will probably find that the dance was an international affair. But whether that is to be the verdict of history or not, there is no doubt that paying the piper is to be a

grave concern of every nation that was involved in the war.

Consider the condition of France. For every year, since 1913, the French budget has shown huge deficits. During the war the French government did not dare to raise taxes to the level indicated by the rules of prudent finance. France let her profiteers alone because she feared to add an internal struggle to her graver external cares. Since the war the French government has never once had the courage to propose a fiscal policy that would make ends meet. It has juggled accounts and soothed the French people with false hopes of relief to come from German payments, although down to the present the cost of occupation has eaten up practically everything that the Allies have been able to squeeze out of Germany, and the prospects for the future of net payments are very dubious indeed. In the meantime the national debt has mounted higher and higher, until now, if gold prices returned to the pre-war level and the franc were raised to par, the debt would exceed fifty percent of the entire private wealth of France. If America's national debt were raised from twenty billions to one hundred billions, we should find ourselves in a position comparable to what France will be in if the franc rises to par. All the taxes we could conveniently raise would be insufficient for interest on a debt of magnitude.

France will get very little out of Germany. She will manage somehow to rid herself of her obligations to England and America. But two-thirds of her burden will remain, to be distributed among the stubbornly self-conscious peasants, the turbulent industrial workers, and the unscrupulous capitalistic class led by Paris finance. What is the outlook for quiet and orderly politics in France?

The British government is in a stronger position. It did not shrink from the duty of levying heavy taxes during the war, when it could count on the war spirit to supplement the ordinary motives that make an Englishman more tolerant of taxation than any other modern. The fact remains that the total burden of debt is colossal. If gold prices sink to the pre-war level, as they are not at all unlikely to do, the British debt will be equal to about two-fifths of all the private property in Britain. The British treasury is making ends meet, but with extreme difficulty. A further decline in prices would enhance the difficulty. Moreover, we can not as yet form any estimate as to the degree in which current taxation is destroying the objects on which it is levied. But it would be absurd to suppose that men will work as vigorously as formerly to build up incomes when the state appropriates a share in them ranging from one-quarter upwards. It is simply out of the question

that the tax burden should rest securely where it is. Class will array itself against class in the struggle to effect a redistribution.

The United States is in a much better position. Sooner or later, to be sure, we shall have to make up our minds that we shall have to pay off the whole debt ourselves. We shall have to abandon the dream of lightening our burden through collections from France, Italy and even England. But even so, our position will be far more favorable than that of any of our late associates in the war. We are making ends meet at present, and we shall continue to do so in the future.

But making ends meet is one thing and accepting with good grace taxes as they are now distributed is a quite different thing. The Republican party came into power with large promises of lightened taxation. Everybody wanted relief. But it has been demonstrated that one group can be given relief only at the expense of another. The question of reducing the surtaxes brought out the conflict of interest between agriculture and business. The question of financing the bonus is even now arraying class against class, section against section.

And this is only the beginning. The federal government will not settle down to the simple task of collecting revenues for interest and sinking fund on the public debt. It will be forced to assume new functions, incur new expenditures. And in each case there will be a struggle over the distribution of the burdens, a struggle which will evoke, not merely conflicting conceptions of the functions of government and the incidence of taxation, but of the nature and end of society as well.

While the war debt is with us we shall have to reconcile ourselves to sailing in stormy political seas.

The New **REPUBLIC** *A Journal of Opinion*

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Europe: A Family of Debtors

THE European fiscal situation is admittedly very bad. In the prosperous year 1920 all of the neutral countries, as well as the continental belligerents, sustained deficits, the revenues from taxation ranging from 21 percent of the expenditures in the case of Poland to 95 percent in the case of Sweden. England was the only country in Europe which succeeded in balancing its budget, and even there taxpayers had to borrow from the bank no inconsiderable part of their tax money.

In consequence of the business depression the deficits for the year 1921 will with scarce an exception be materially larger. Taxation receipts decline as prices fall and the volume of business shrinks. But most expenditures remain fixed; indeed because of the unemployment insurance and subsidies that must be paid they usually increase in time of depression. Even England will probably show a deficit for the current fiscal year, while the latest Polish figures indicate tax revenues of 10 billion and expenditures of 110 billion marks. The European fiscal situation is admittedly still growing worse.

But one reads in the financial press that the French government, for example, has recently paid off some of its bank loans, thereby evidencing anew the inherent financial soundness of that impoverished but thrifty nation. Does this not demonstrate that France, whatever may be true of Central and Eastern Europe, is already on the backswing to normal conditions? One is cheered by such news until one studies the figures of total indebtedness. For it may be true, one is compelled to reflect, that a nation, like an individual, may meet certain obligations as they mature and yet be going ever more deeply into debt. An old loan may be paid off with the proceeds of a new one; and two new obligations may grow where only one stood before. The figures of *total* indebtedness are the true measure of fiscal progress or retrogression. Judged by this standard let us see what has been occurring in France.

In 1914 the French debt, the largest per capita debt in the world, stood at 34 billion francs; on December 31, 1918, it stood at 151 billion francs; on December 31, 1919, at 240 billions; on September 30, 1920, at 285 billions; on February 28, 1921, at 302 billions; and on September 30, 1921, at 320 billions. The French debt has thus more than doubled since the armistice; and in the year ending September 30, 1921, it increased by 35 bil-

lions. Budgetary data may be camouflaged, as they are marvelously camouflaged in the Budget Général; but the figures of mounting indebtedness clear up the mists.

It should be added that the French budget does not include interest on the war debt to allied nations; but that it does, on the other hand, include reparation and pension outlays that are "recoverable" from Germany under the terms of the treaty. During the current fiscal year the French deficit, apart from reparations, is about 20 billion francs, the taxation revenues being roughly 50 percent of expenditures, other than those recoverable from Germany. Premier Poincaré has announced that France cannot live without reparations. The question may well be raised whether France can escape eventual bankruptcy even if she should receive the reparations demanded. And the truth is inescapable that France will not get any cash reparations worth the cost of collecting. This is conceded by all British observers, including Lloyd George; it is practically acknowledged by the Reparations Commission, and it has become a truism with economists everywhere.

The German debt in 1914 was a little over 5 billion marks; on December 31, 1918, it was 140 billions; on December 31, 1919, it was 197 billions; and on October 27, 1920, it was 418 billions, including compensations made to German citizens arising out of the Peace Treaty, but exclusive of reparations. Later figures are not available, but it is known that the debt has this year increased at a more rapid rate than ever. Other continental countries differ from France and Germany only in degree.

Bad, undoubtedly very bad, says an eminent financier. But there is hope in the fact that the European nations now recognize that the situation is bad. After all, that is a great step forward. For now that they see the situation in its true light they will promptly take the necessary steps to remedy it, painful though the process may be. We must merely be patient and give them time to set their several financial houses in order. Now it is surely a remarkable phenomenon, if true, that the highly experienced statesmen and financiers of Europe should have failed to recognize until now that the fiscal situation is bad, exceedingly bad. While the extreme gravity of the situation is apparently not generally appreciated even yet, it is arrant nonsense to suppose that the statesmen and financiers of Europe have not all along recognized

a very serious fiscal dilemma, and recognized it about as clearly as they do now. As a matter of fact, it has almost continuously been a primary political issue in nearly every country of Europe.

Case after case might be cited where within the past two years finance ministers have courageously undertaken the task of balancing budgets. Expenditures were to be summarily reduced through instituting the most rigid economy, and revenues were to be increased by the imposition of higher taxes. But in almost every case the attempt has proved a hopeless failure. Consider the case of Poland.

Last spring a new finance minister was chosen, who commanded the stanch support of the business interests in a program of fiscal reform. At last, it was said, some ordinary business common sense had been injected into the situation. Poland had faced facts and was now prepared to pay the piper. But, alas, we find that the minister merely hoped to balance the budget through increased *voluntary* loans—at home and abroad—rather than by the existing method of involuntary loans effected through the issue of paper marks. Poland, in a word, was to balance her budget by issuing interest bearing bonds rather than by issuing non-interest bearing paper notes. Next year could of course take care of itself,—by still larger borrowings.

Even this fallacious balancing was foredoomed to failure. There was practically no domestic market for Polish bonds, because of the certain fall in the real income on the government bonds as paper money continued to depreciate. There was no foreign market for Polish bonds,—for obvious reasons. The net result of the attempt is revealed in the subsequent enormous expansion in Polish paper money and the accompanying fall in Polish exchange.

The fiscal dilemma in Europe may be categorically stated as follows. Taxes cannot be raised sufficiently to meet present expenditures; present expenditures cannot be lowered sufficiently to balance present revenues, nor can revenues be raised enough and expenditures reduced enough to effect a balancing somewhere in between. In most countries the gap is altogether too wide. That is to say, none of these things can be done so long as economic and political conditions remain in their present disordered state.

There has been no end of firm talk of late to the effect that the United States should require European countries to set their own financial houses in order before seeking any more favors from us,—after which, it may be observed, they would of course no longer require our help. Let us see what balancing the French budget, for example, would require.

Present French government taxes equal about 18 percent of the national income, which in 1920 was estimated by the League of Nations at \$265 per capita. Federal taxes in the United States in 1920 were about 8 percent of the national income, estimated at about \$620 per capita. It is doubtful if the French people could stand, economically, a heavier burden than they now bear. It is certain, politically, that they will not. The French tear up income tax blanks or return them unfilled to the government, with compliments. Heavier land taxes are equally impossible. The French insist that taxes cannot be raised appreciably higher than they now are.

Those who insist that taxes must be raised and the economic burden placed directly on the backs of the people will do well to consider the condition of Great Britain. There the budget was balanced, although it appears that tax payers are forced to borrow from the banks no small part of the money paid to the government. But as the situation nominally stands Great Britain in 1920 raised taxes equal to about 23 percent of the national income, estimated at \$435 per capita. This year, because of the shrinkage of values and of business volume, the same total of taxes has been estimated by a British statistician to require 32 percent of the national income. It is said in Britain that so heavy a burden is utterly ruinous. How much truth is there in such a statement?

To understand what is involved one must know that taxation is a means of distributing national income as between different uses. Money paid in taxes is utilized by the government for its purposes rather than by individuals for their purposes. Now the individuals either spend the funds for consumption purposes or invest them. Increased taxation may serve to reduce either consumption expenditures or the volume of investment. In England it has in fact resulted in greatly reducing the flow of funds to investment channels.

The funds received by the government, on the other hand, are not, under present conditions, primarily devoted to what may be called constructive purposes. A very large part—larger than ever before—goes for the construction and maintenance of engines of war; much goes to maintain the army and naval forces; much goes to support—and thus to permit to live in idleness—a vast army of pensioners; and much now goes to support a great many of unemployed. In short, funds hitherto used in promoting capital accumulation are now diverted to the maintenance of people in idleness.

The change that has occurred in Great Britain in this respect is appalling. According to an

eminent British statistician, where in 1907 Great Britain required 8.5 percent of her national income for government purposes, in 1920 23 percent was taken; whereas in 1907 33.9 percent of the national income was spent on food, drink, tobacco and dress, in 1920 as much as 40.9 percent was so used. With this strikingly significant result that whereas in the former year 8.3 percent of the national income went for depreciation and maintenance of existing capital, and another 15.4 percent for new capital at home and abroad, in 1920 there was available for both these purposes only 5.4 percent of the national income. In short, in the prosperous year 1920, Great Britain did not even maintain existing plant and equipment. 1921 and 1922 will show still further deterioration.

Having regard only for the general economic welfare, one is forced to conclude that present British fiscal operations are rendering economic progress impossible, and that the tax burden must be substantially reduced.

But how! Interest on the huge public debt must be paid; the abolition of pensions is politically impossible; men without work must be cared for at public expense,—for political if not for other reasons. The army and navy cannot be abolished so long as the Japanese and the Bolshevik and the German and the French menaces remain. And there you are!

In France interest on the debt, exclusive of that to Allied governments, is over 13 billion francs annually, equal to about three-fourths of the total taxation revenues. Pensions add 3.5 billions more. Reconstruction of devastated areas, which it is agreed must go on whether Germany compensates or not, now adds 10 or 12 billions more. — Assume all army and naval expenditure abolished, if you will, now amounting to approximately 6 billion francs, and France would still have a sadly unbalanced budget, without counting the debt to the United States, out of which the soldiers' bonus has been imagined to come. The total French taxes cannot be expected to yield more than 18 or 20 billions at the outside for many years to come—until there is a genuine recovery from the economic destruction and disorganization wrought by the war. Meanwhile what?

In other continental countries subsidies to industries requiring special stimulus, subsidies to industries in distress, and subsidies on food and other necessities in order to keep the cost of living down, further complicate the problem. Nowhere can these be taken off without courting decreased production, increased unemployment, and social revolution. Witness the recent abortive attempt in Austria to abolish the bread subsidy in order to

balance the budget. The act would have multiplied the price of bread a hundred fold, and its very suggestion led to wholesale violence in Vienna, both to person and property. The maintenance of these subsidies is in a large part of Europe the price that must be paid for the perpetuity of existing governments.

Two things at least stand out clearly in all this post-war mess in Europe. First, no single remedial act will suffice. Since the armistice we have had a whole series of panaceas,—including thrift, increased production, American export credits, cancellation of Allied debts and German reparations, stabilizing exchanges, forming an international bank, etc. Not one has as yet got anywhere, nor can get anywhere by itself alone. These are all angles of one problem, parts of some comprehensive program of action that some day must be evolved if Europe is to be prevented from a half century or more of economic and social retrogression. Second, no one European nation can possibly settle its problems alone; that is, apart from a general European settlement. All are bound up together; in the end all will stand or fall together. Sometime we shall have to deal with Europe as a unit if Europe is to be saved. When shall we begin?

H. G. MOULTON.

Sea Slant

On up the sea slant,
On up the horizon,
This ship limps.

The bone of her nose fog-gray,
The heart of her sea-strong,
She came a long way,
She goes a long way.

On up the horizon,
On up the sea slant,
She limps sea-strong, fog-gray.

She is a green-lit night gray.
She comes and goes in sea fog.
Up the horizon slant she limps.

Upstream

The strong men keep coming on.
They go down shot, hanged, sick, broken.
They live on, fighting, singing,
lucky as plungers.

The strong men . . . they keep coming on.
The strong mothers pulling them
from a dark sea, a great prairie,
a long mountain.

Call hallelujah, call amen,
call deep thanks.

The strong men keep coming on.

CARL SANDBURG.

Shaw's Comment on Clive Bell's Article

[In his article, *The Creed of an Aesthete* (in our issue of January 25th), Mr. Clive Bell said: "Mr. Bernard Shaw . . . is not an artist, much less an aesthete . . . he is a didactic." He referred to Mr. Shaw's rejection of the Darwinian theory because, by depriving Beauty, Intelligence, Honor of their divine origin and purpose, this theory deprives them of their value. To Mr. Bell's mind, Mr. Shaw feels that "if Life be a mere purposeless accident, the finest things in it must appear to everyone worthless." The sooner Mr. Shaw knows that this is not so, the better, says Mr. Bell, and proceeds to explain his own creed: "always life will be worth living by those who find in it things which make them feel to the limit of their capacity." "The advantage of being an aesthete," he declares, "is that one is able to appreciate the significance of all that comes to one through the senses: one feels things as ends instead of worrying about them as means. . . . Whatever is precious and beautiful in life is precious and beautiful irrespective of beginning and end."]

AS will be seen in the above article, my friend Clive Bell is a fathead and a voluptuary. This a very comfortable sort of person to be, and very friendly and easy and pleasant to talk to. Bell is a brainy man out of training. So much the better for his friends; for men in training are irritable, dangerous, and apt to hit harder than they know. No fear of that from Clive. The layer of fat on his brain makes him incapable of following up his own meaning; but it makes him good company.

A man out of condition muscularly not only dislikes rowing or boxing, but cannot conceive anyone liking them. A man out of condition mentally not only dislikes hard thinking, but cannot conceive anyone enjoying it. To Falstaff, Carpentier is an object of pity. To Clive, Einstein is the most miserable of mortals. So am I.

He is mistaken as to both of us. Intellect is a passion; and its activity and satisfaction, which can be maintained from seven years old to 107 if you can manage to live so long, are keenly pleasurable if the brain is strong enough for the exercise. Descartes must have got far more pleasure out of life than Casanova. Hamlet had more fun than Des Grieux, who tried to live on his love for Manon Lescaut, relieved by cheating at cards. Clive tells us how he poisons the clear night air of London with his cheroots after an evening of wine, woman and song; and he is contemptuously certain that he has enjoyed himself far more than a handful of old gentlemen in a society of chemists, mathematicians, biologists or what not, discussing the latest thing in quantum of energy, or electrons, or hormones. It is the interest of the

tobacconist, the restaurateur, the theatrical manager, the wine merchant and distiller, to suggest that delusion to him. And what a silly delusion it is! No pleasure of the first order is compatible with tobacco and alcohol, which are useful only for killing time and drowning care. For real pleasure men keep their senses and wits clear: they do not deliberately dull and muddle themselves. I have not the smallest doubt that when the human mind is as fully developed as the human reproductive processes now are, men will, like the ancients in *Back to Methuselah*, experience a sustained ecstasy of thought that will make our sexual ecstasies seem child's play.

Clive is troubled—you know it when he cries "Who cares?—because a rose grows out of manure. This comes of taking hold of things by the wrong end. Why not rejoice because manure grows into a rose? The most valuable lesson in *Back to Methuselah* is that things are conditioned not by their origins but by their ends. What makes the Ancient wise is not the life he has lived and done with but the life that is before him. Clive says why not live in the present? Because we don't, and won't, and can't. Because there is no such thing as the present: there is only the gate that we are always reaching and never passing through: the gate that leads from the past into the future. Clive, meaning to insist on static sensation, slips inevitably into talking of "*the significance* of all that comes to one through the senses." What then becomes of his figment of sense without significance? "Whatever is precious and beautiful in life," he says, "is precious and beautiful irrespective of beginning and end." Bosh! The only sensations intense enough to be called precious or beautiful are the sensations of irresistible movement to an all-important end: the only perceptions that deserve such epithets are perceptions of some artistic expression of such sensation or pre-figured ideal of its possibilities. The pain with which a child cuts its teeth, though felt, is not suffered because the child feels it as Clive pretends to feel his pleasures: that is, it cannot anticipate the next moment of it nor remember the last; and so, fretful as it may seem, it does not suffer at all. If Clive ever gets his pleasures down to the point at which he also does not anticipate the future or remember the past, he will not enjoy it in the least. In short, his imaginary present and its all-sufficing delight is unconsidered tosh.

The reason Clive enjoys his suppers is that he first works hard enough to need relaxation—at least I presume and hope he does. If he did not he would be miserable, and would probably have to take to drugs to enable him to bear his pleasant

evenings at the Russian Ballet. Even now he cannot get through them without the aid of cheroots. I never eat supper; I never smoke; I drink water; and I can sit out Petrouchka and enjoy the starlight in Piccadilly all the same. But clearly, if I could be persuaded that Petrouchka, instead of being a relaxation, is as creative as the Piccadilly starlight is recreative, I should enjoy it a thousand times more. So would anybody.

No, my Clive: in vain do you sing

Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon,
And thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon.

They will not stop for you. Lopokova will dance, as you say; but when you stretch your arms to her and cry

Verweile doch, du bist so schön

you cannot stop, either of you, any more than Paolo and Francesca could stop in the whirlwind. You delight in the music of Mozart; but does it ever stop? It ends; but your delight ends with it. You are a destinate creature, and must hurry along helter skelter; so what is the use of waving your cheroots at us and assuring us that you are motionless and meaningless? There is nothing in the world more ridiculous than a man running at full speed, and shouting to everyone that he is in no hurry, and does not care two straws where he is going to.

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW.

Journals for Gentlemen

NOWADAYS, even the most sheltered of us cannot escape the fact that we are women. There may have been times in the past when a woman could forget that she was a woman and enjoy living merely as a human being, but not so in the twentieth century. In the last ten or fifteen years hundreds of books have been written about us, explaining why we are so, what made us that way, what we used to be like and what we are going to be, by and by. In short, we are a problem. Sometimes we are *the* problem. All of which makes us feel important, or humble or rather tentative, like a candidate for membership in an exclusive club who will be voted on some time soon.

One of the great factors in keeping our womanishness to the fore is the magazine prepared especially for us. Glance at any newsstand and you will see a bevy of feminine faces, pink cheeked, red-lipped, golden-haired ladies; some in hats, some in veils, some smiling, some bored, but always there on the covers. True, occasionally the beautiful face is misleading, and instead of an all feminine cast inside there may be detective stories and snappy fiction or romantic tales by fallen great authors. Or it may be only the Police Gazette which has recently followed the current fashion.

In the array of brilliant faced covers almost every other one will have something about women in the title: The Woman's Home Companion, The Ladies' Home Journal, The Woman's World, The Ladies' World, To-day's Housewife, The Woman's Magazine, Women's Work and a few with identical insides but less flauntingly specialized

names, McCall's Magazine, The Delineator, Pictorial Review, Vogue and Good Housekeeping. The contents of these so-called class periodicals for women have become more or less standardized. There are simple, romantic stories with happy endings and wholesome adventures, chiefly in love, there are articles on women's interests, and patterns, pages and pages of charming gowns, for fat, thin, young and old, with full directions about creating them out of a last year's sleeve, trimmed with one of husband's neckties.

The interesting fact about these special magazines for women is that almost all of them are edited by men. There are only two or three women editors of women's magazines in the country, and they, poor dears, are prevented from committing any literary atrocities by little bands of firm and wise masculine directors who solve all the really important questions of policy.

Edward Bok, a pioneer and perhaps the most generally known of the men-women editors because of his long service with The Ladies' Home Journal, believes it is perfectly simple to understand why men are always chosen. Editing, he says, is primarily an executive task, and everybody knows that women are not well qualified for executive work. They do have an important service in the magazine field, however, he concedes, for they write the household hints and children's welfare articles almost as well as most men. In this, he goes quite a little farther than some masculine editors who even employ men to write the beauty hints and cosmetic advice under such disarming names as Estelle, Claire and Suzanne. All of which reminds one of the darkly hinted secret that

the renowned Lydia G. Pinkham herself was really a man.

In his autobiography, Mr. Bok declares it is a popular misconception that to be successful, male editors need to understand women or know anything in particular about their activities. He himself never pretended to understand women. In fact, he had an instinctive avoidance of them, not disliking them exactly, but not really liking them, either. We shall have to grant that he was not over fond of us, but on the understanding side surely he is too modest. Did he not write the early installments of *Side Talks With Girls* himself, shaping the immortal model later to be followed by a mere woman?

Speaking of the business of making magazines for women, it seems strikingly unjust that there are no magazines devoted entirely to the personal interests of men. Of course, there are the trade papers and labor journals and a number of dull periodicals about stocks and bonds and automobile inventions, but there is no really live paper touching the heart interests and dress problems of men. It surely would not be at all difficult to get a large circulation if someone had the courage or the initiative to make an entry into this undeveloped field and launch *The Man's World*, *Home News for Men*, *The Men's Fireside Companion* or simply, *Man*. There is no reason either, why men's faces would not make good cover decorations. Beautiful *matinée* idols like Lou Tellegen or popular screen stars like Douglas Fairbanks, done in vivid blues and greens and purples, would lure men readers as they passed the corner stand. Or, if men seem to lack mere doll-like beauty, artists could go in for strength and virility and standardize that clenched jaw and iron-clamped chin which is the current trade-mark of the prosperous business man. If faces go out of style, there could be simple pictures of men in home life; man before his dressing table, or man washing dishes or a father holding a child. Paternity has never been properly immortalized on the newsstands.

In the matter of fiction, it would not be difficult to find wholesome, happy stories for *The Man's World* which would soothe alike the foot-sore floor walker and the jaded college professor. And to relieve the monotony of pure romance, advertisements of gay undergarments, marvellous hosiery, magical shaving creams, neckties, watch fobs and the thousand or less accessories of masculine attire could run along beside the text.

Since up-keep is as necessary for men as for women, valuable departments could be developed offering suggestions on ways to shave without being cut, how to prevent baldness, how to brush the

teeth and other problems which men now have to work out by experience or with only the aid of a drug store clerk. For men, getting toward middle life, there could be described exercises to ward off increasing embonpoint, with illustrations showing men in those violent reducing postures, said to be so effective if taken faithfully. At present, men's clothes are discussed chiefly in *Vanity Fair* and the page of the theatre program called *What The Men Will Be Wearing*. Fascinating as is the latest news of collar buttons, ties, spats and handkerchiefs, if the subject were adequately considered it might lead to greater originality in masculine attire.

Men are often romantic and sentimental but they have never been encouraged to tell their heart secrets. Queries about the choice of a mate, how to avoid lover's quarrels, how and when to propose, the art of being a husband, a father, a brother, and the whole gamut of the emotional life could be answered.

Cousin Dick or Uncle Harold might be induced to conduct a department for growing boys. At present, boys have no particularly enticing way of finding answers to their peculiar problems, but if they could write a letter to some friendly person on a magazine, and see the answer in print, it would be more effective than hours of consultation with parents. Uncle Harold's *Side Talks With Boys* would publish answers of this sort:

Tom. No. I do not think it would be all right for you to wear a red necktie to your grandmother's funeral. If you have no other, borrow a black one from your father. After all, she is your grandmother. Respect her memory.

Joseph. If you have flunked your mathematics again, it must be because you are more interested in football than in your studies. The brain must be developed as well as the body. Try to make it a point to study at least a half an hour daily, while you are in college. You may find it easier to do this before breakfast, every morning. This will not interfere with your day's engagements and you will find it easier to remember your lesson, since the brain registers better on an empty stomach.

Leander. You are only fifteen and that is too young to begin paying attention to girls. If Patty Pierce persists in calling you on the telephone, have your father answer it and say that you are not yet old enough to receive attentions from young ladies.

A vigorous and up-to-date magazine could carry on some greatly needed crusades for men. Why, for instance, are there no men debutantes? Should not our young men be introduced to society with dances, receptions and teas? How can it be made known that they are eligible for social occasions, to be followed by matrimony, if they continue to merely flounder out, fall out or get out in the

casual way they now do? And what can be done to make our bridegrooms a more easily recognized factor at a wedding? At present, they serve merely as stage setting for the picture. In fact, in many of the illustrations that follow a fashionable wedding, the bridegroom in the Sunday supplement is crowded into the background so that one cannot tell whether he is the marriage partner, only a clergyman, the father of the bride or a waiter.

If you read the descriptions of weddings in the records of social events, you will notice that the bridegroom is scarcely mentioned. He is as unimportant as a woman in her own obituary notice. It is impossible to find out what he wore, how he acted, whether he looked foolish or resigned. Only a few days ago, the newspapers reported a wedding in New York which began with a description of the bride's grandfather and his activities, and then the bride's father, the Honorable John M. Evanson. It told all about his career in the Senate, his years abroad as a foreign minister, his books, his honorary degrees and his war-time services and medals. Then, Miss Isabel Evanson, the bride, was described, her college career, her social

work with the Junior League, her successes in amateur theatricals and her work in a canteen. There was just one line about the bridegroom.

"Henry W. Lake, the bridegroom, comes from Springfield, Massachusetts."

Perhaps the time will come when editing special magazines for men will be the last of the unconquered territories in the way of new occupations for women. If men have been able to do it so successfully for women, there is no reason why, by the law of evolution, compensation or natural selection women might not master the executive details which Mr. Bok says are the present stumbling block, and create a new profession for themselves. They might even begin now and serve through a pioneer period on present masculine periodicals. It would be pleasant to meet Lilian Langhorn, editor of *The Plumber's Age*, Claribel Jordaine of *Brass and Iron* or Helen Hathaway of *Lawn Tennis, Base Ball and Outdoor Sports*. These positions would, of course, be preliminary to the greater and more important task of establishing as part of our current life, special journals for gentlemen.

FLORENCE GUY WOOLSTON.

An Eight-Carat Golden Rule

THE A. Nash Company, Inc., of Cincinnati, makers of cheap suits and overcoats, has for two months been in the position of the champion heavyweight who sees, dancing about him, seeking his vulnerable spot, an unknown and hitherto negligible opponent. Each antagonist—the clothing company and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers—has found what it believes to be an infallible law governing the economic relations of employer and employed; each has honestly endeavored to apply his law. The Amalgamated thinks it can reach a poorly organized local market through establishing, in this most successful open shop, unionism as the only real workers' control, while Mr. Nash has adopted and applied the Golden Rule: "Therefore, all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

Fraternalism perhaps best describes the system of control in the Golden Rule Shop. Mr. Nash regards his workers as his brothers, well-loved, he says, and he wants share and share alike with them in work and profits. When asked how his ideal differs from that of Henry Ford, Mr. Nash replied that the Ford way of short hours and high wages

will never solve labor troubles; that these can be eliminated only when the factory becomes a large family of brothers and sisters willingly laboring for each other, when workers sacrifice self and insist upon an equal distribution of good things among great and small. As concrete evidence of his good faith, Mr. Nash points to frequent wage increases, to a profit-sharing plan tried out for a year to a five-day week.

Also to the fact that his workers have no need for the usual protective machinery of the union, with its shop committee and carefully planned standards, or any sort of workers' association, any more than the company officials need the protection of time clocks and efficiency devices. The fair-minded visitor must also take account of an excellent building with plenty of light and air, a general effect of business without flurry, and apparently pleasant relations between employer and employees.

The general features of the plant have been much propounded in pulpit and on lecture platforms, but details of wages, profit-sharing schemes, and shop-management have so far been nebulous. This divides an interested world into liberals who

welcome the immense improvement over old-fashioned sweat-shop conditions; into union members who see their principles ignored; into investigators who want all the substantiating facts.

The questioning was precipitated by my radical friend for the benefit of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Bobbed of hair, small of body, large in courage and loyalty, she divined the importance of this large open shop as a key to the city. For first-hand information she pursued its employees into any and all queer gathering places, studied the factory buildings from the outside, penetrated subtly to the system within. She thus nicely typifies the union. Its strength derives mainly from its loyalty to a single ideal. The public ignores the union. A few shops alone support it. The Golden Rule Company, on the other hand, is strongly backed by business men and magazines of all these our states, for who of them can resist the success recorded on the balance sheet of the Golden Rule? It is supported too by nation-wide religious interests, for what minister can fail to rejoice at this instance of the practical value of a Bible text? Likewise by the great orthodox masses in these mid-west wastes, who love a cheap suit or overcoat thus haloed. The sounding brass of the American Magazine and of Chambers of Commerce reechoes the glory of a manufacturer who makes money by the brand new device of applied religion. And all the liberal element in this conservative city honors the man Nash. So the union opposed to the Golden Rule Shop looks very like the small organizer confronting what he calls the four heavenly policemen who guard the portals of what to Mr. Nash is "The spot where Heaven has come to earth"—his factory.

My radical got up early on the cold mornings of November and December, and the colder ones of January, to tramp down the long hill to the valley where stands Mr. Nash's factory, in order to catch the morning tide of workers. She asked questions of them, shouted at them facts reinforced with her most startling bulletins. She followed them to their homes at night and picked out the kernels of news about the system's workings. She placed in their way temptation in the shape of young members who liked their Amalgamated gym class, or the chorus of union songs, or their evenings of good music and lectures.

But the heavenly police called her a trouble maker and drove her away.

Now these are the facts that the Amalgamated claims to have elicited:

1. Children under age are working there for \$9 a week without working certificates.

2. The average pay for women is \$12 to \$16 a week.

3. Wages in general are from \$4 to \$8 a week less than union wages.

4. There is no time-and-a-half pay for overtime. The superintendent informs new workers that if they aren't willing to work overtime they are not wanted.

5. The week workers are forced to produce the required amount of output, which is very severe, or be discharged. The foreman registers the individual production daily. If it is below standard the superintendent himself reprimands the workers.

6. The workers have no voice in what the standards shall be.

7. The pressers are forced to press double the amount of coats required in a union shop, but receive \$1 a week less in wages.

8. The Golden Rule cutters are piece workers and receive 52c a cut, while union cutters are week workers and average \$1 a cut. Some of the cutters make high wages. It is these whom the factory quotes. Excerpts are given from a letter from one of the Golden Rule cutters:

Some of the cutters would ride the owl car and get into the shop at daybreak. It is a fact that the night watchman on many occasions would respond to the hammerings on the cellar door and open the alley entrance for some of these industrious cutters. . . .

Regarding the time and a half for overtime, we do not know when we enter the zone of overtime.

Workers are penalized for mistakes by a system of cash fines which further reduces their low earnings. Five minutes tardiness in the morning is punished by the docking of an hour's pay.

Mr. Nash gives bits of his autobiography in explaining his plan, so I shall follow his example briefly. He paints the stern Seventh Day Adventist home of his childhood, with its close application to the Bible; his impetuous rejection of Christianity when he found it heartless; his years of scepticism, of failure in one small business venture after another, of despair during the absence of his sons at war. Then, with a revival of interest in religion, he concluded that its application had always been at fault, not its principle. A practical experiment in Christianity he found ready to hand when he purchased a small sweatshop, and in 1919 he put into effect the Golden Rule. One old lady, says Mr. Nash, was getting \$4 a week, as was a younger woman, when he bought the shop, and pressers were making \$18 a week. He gave the old lady \$12 and made his average \$20 a

week, the highest wages paid in any small shop in the city. At this time he had 31 employees, according to a reply to a Chamber of Commerce questionnaire, and he writes that in all this time only three employees have left him. The phenomenal success of his plan has astonished no one more than its author. He told me that he today has 1,300 employees all told, counting those in the pants shop to which he sends his extra-mural work. In January of this year his business has totalled more than that of both the Januaries of 1921 and 1920 together. Profits of \$42,000 on an investment of \$60,000 in 1919 led to the adoption of a profit sharing plan based on time worked rather than salaries made, but this plan has been abandoned, the workers electing to add something to their weekly wages and the rest to the quality of the lining and pockets of suits made in the shop. The latest beneficence has been a week's vacation with pay at Christmas and a forty-hour, or five-day, week, plus a ten percent raise in wages.

Let me turn to the crux of the story. I asked Mr. Nash whether, as stated in his lectures, his payroll is open to investigators, what the average weekly wage paid to his employees is and how it compares with that in other Cincinnati shops; who initiates wage increases and on what grounds. Mr. Nash gave me permission to question his employees as to their earnings, indeed urged me to take a couple of days to study the shop through the employees; but he considered it unethical for the office to disclose these concerns of the workers to outsiders. He said that he initiated increases whenever the profits warranted it. One old lady who was placidly basting on labels gets \$15.50 a week, she told me. That is the only specific information as to wages I could secure with which to refute the Amalgamated charges. Profit-sharing he said had been abandoned, after a year's trial, at a mass-meeting of the employees, subsequent profits being added half to the workers wages, half to the quality of the suit.

I was particularly interested in the workers' share in controlling the shop. The Amalgamated claims that employees are effectively "controlled" by a system of petitions and resolutions. Representatives of the firm present the resolutions which all must approve. The foreman sees that there is no discussion and that every name appears, and signatures are obtained often on blank sheets of paper. One woman told an Amalgamated representative that she was followed into the dressing room by a foreman who forced her to sign her name under threat of immediate discharge. Such a resolution Mr. Nash is now said to hold as a

weapon against his workers, following union agitation. It was introduced by one of the women officials. It professed satisfaction with the Golden Rule; it drastically ordered that every Amalgamated member should leave the shop; it declared that anyone who joined the Amalgamated would be instantly discharged. No one was permitted to escape signing, and unanimous approval was announced. Mr. Nash later deplored the resolution as having been completed without his knowledge but said that he was naturally gratified at the attitude of the workers. Five union women were discharged after the passing of the resolution. An Amalgamated member was forced to surrender her union book to the superintendent. Applicants for work are asked if they are union members. If not they are forced to sign an agreement stating that they will not join the Amalgamated. Foremen are constantly on watch in front of the building to note the workers to whom the organizers talk. Four policemen have at times been stationed near one plant to drive off the organizers.

According to Mr. Nash there are two regular mass meetings a year, and called meetings whenever necessary. There are no standing committees, no machinery for determining standards of production. Voting is by voice only. Any worker is at liberty to initiate resolutions and petitions, presenting them sometimes at the office, sometimes to a leader of a mass meeting, sometimes reading them himself from the platform. Mr. Nash thought that the rank and file expressed themselves as freely in this way as did the heads of departments. One of my questions he did not answer: What guarantee have the workers for a continuance of present conditions should the management change?

It is this contingency that labor organization cares for. Mr. Nash "condemns with all the force at his command the system of profit-sharing that has for its motive the erection of a barrier against Trade Unionism." He calls labor unions the physicians of industrial ills. He emphasizes the statement thus: "I can conceive of no worse condition of abject servitude than for labor to be unorganized so long as the present avaricious organizations of capital continue." To Mr. Nash his shop is not sick, therefore the medical attention of Dr. Trade Union is not necessary. To the Amalgamated his shop is critically ill. To the liberal onlooker it seems that his shop, like all industrial plants, should be treated to a careful course of preventive medicine.

ELIZABETH HILLIARD RAGAN.

Behaviorism in Religion

ACCORDING to Mr. Charles S. Macfarland, Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the recent editorial in the *New Republic* entitled *War and Christian Ethics* "misrepresents the spirit and action of the Protestant churches of America through their authorized denominational assemblies and through their common federal body." The evidence with which he sustains this charge consists of resolutions and declarations in favor of peace passed by different church conferences before the war, before the United States entered the war and since the end of the war. Evidence of this kind does not in my opinion invalidate the *New Republic's* contentions. On the contrary Mr. Macfarland's letter is itself an illustration of the preconceptions and the illusions which prevent many Protestant clergymen from understanding why Christianity and the Christian churches have done so little to uproot war as one of the essential institutions and vocations of the Christian peoples.

The *New Republic* attributed the failure of the churches to uproot war to the want of integrity in Christian ethics, as practiced and interpreted by the vast majority of Christians. This criticism may or may not be justified, but Mr. Macfarland does not answer it by calling attention to resolutions passed by denominational assemblies of the Protestant churches and their federal body. He names these resolutions "actions," but they are not actions; they are pious and impotent expressions of opinion. They have little or no effect after they are uttered on the behavior of Christian peoples. The member of a Christian church who ignores them is not considered any less orthodox or reputable. The organization of the modern world provides for war as part of its official economy. Certain results which governments and classes have to accomplish they cannot accomplish without war. The psychology and morals of the great majority of Christians are the reflection of these necessities rather than of the life and teaching of Jesus. If the Christian churches seek to eradicate an institution of this kind merely by passing resolutions against it or even by realizing their pacifist convictions in individual conscientious protests, the Christian kingdom of God becomes a kingdom of words and intentions. It is disqualified from exercising effective authority over either individual or social life as a whole.

I do not wish to disparage the sincerity, the unselfishness and the devotion which the group of liberal Christians, represented in the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, are bringing to the task of giving political and social reality to what they take to be the truth of Christian ethics. But their conduct of the enterprise condemns it to ultimate futility. The Christian ministry cannot bring peace on earth and good will to men until its members are agreed upon the meaning and the power of the Christian Gospel as a way of life. In order to establish a living connection between Christianity and peace they will have to consider much more radically than they have yet done what in the light of contemporary knowledge they must conceive Christian truth to be and how its faithful adherents can penetrate life with it.

At present the Federal Council conceives Christian truth

as a spiritual impulse which they can read into the conduct of Christian peoples by propaganda. They are undertaking an ardent and far-reaching campaign to persuade a larger number of professing Christians to believe in a "warless world." They are circulating a great deal of carefully and intelligently prepared religious exhortation by which they expect to educate their brethren into a vital conviction of the affiliation between peace and Christian truth. They believe they are succeeding, and no doubt they do succeed in the sense that they make converts to their opinions. But it is doubtful just what they accomplish by conversions of this kind. They should first ask themselves how much of a drag opinion has upon behavior—upon the behavior not only of their converts but of themselves and ourselves and all selves in the year 1922 of the Christian era. If opinion and particularly religious opinion has very little drag on behavior, their whole apparatus for the transmission of religious truth and the imparting of religious education is suspended in the air. Yet the question remains not only unanswered but practically unconsidered.

Ever since men have believed in their possession of a sacred truth which, if they were faithful to it, would redeem their lives, they have labored to invent some satisfactory way of communicating this priceless possession to the non-believer both of their own and future generations. The Christian churches have tried more tenaciously and successfully to keep Christian truth alive than has any other church and they have used at one time or another a multitude of methods. But the method of communication by word has gradually gained upon the others; and since the abandonment at the end of the religious wars of conversion by compulsion, it has enjoyed almost a monopoly. In the beginning communication by word meant chiefly sermons, but since the invention of the printing press the written word has gained steadily in availability. For several centuries the most popular product of the printing press was the Bible, and during this period, the propagation of Christian truth by sermons, pamphlets and books flourished and seemed justified by its fruits. But in the meantime the amount and the importance of profane truth which was also communicated by words most prodigiously increased. Although the Christian clergy do not realize it, the increasing volume and authority of profane truth and the competition for attention and allegiance which it sets up against religious truth has altered profoundly the conditions under which Christians can communicate an effective belief in the life and teaching of their Master.

Natural science, technology, industrialism, education and democracy have during the last century and a half multiplied a thousand-fold the currency of opinion. It has become an increasingly popular currency, issued by many different authorities and serving in all its issues and all its denominations more or less useful purposes. But the feverish activity of the printing presses of opinion is not an unmixed blessing. Science, nationalism and democracy have popularized the currency of belief, but they have also inflated and debased it. For a conviction or an opinion is a coin whose value depends ultimately on our ability to exchange it not for other currency but for the goods

of life; and at present the value of opinions in other special denominational currencies is high and in goods extremely low.

It is uncertain as well as low. The quotations for different issues of opinions fluctuate from day to day. There was a time when people who possessed what they took to be peculiarly precious opinions tended to hoard them. Now they spend them for fear of a further diminution in value before tomorrow. The idea that any opinion is precious enough to deserve hoarding, that some sacred opinions may, if sufficiently cherished and informed, become convertible into individual and social fulfillment, does not exist as a general motive for conduct. The modern world is speculating in the comparative value of different issues of opinion instead of seeking convictions which may be exchangeable for something peculiarly valuable in life. A Christian body which undertakes to propagate Christian truth by propaganda is not vindicating its authority over human beings; it is swelling the volume of the prevailing speculation in ideas.

Those Christians who believe in the salutary power of Christian truth have implicitly assumed an obligation to convince the incredulous and secular modern world of the unique value of their religious opinions as a positive clue to the good life. They will not win serious converts by passing anti-war resolutions or by distributing sermons about human brotherhood and the Golden Rule. The publication of tracts on the church in a warless world on the front page of every American newspaper on every day for five years would do little or nothing to build up among Americans the craving and the power to imitate Christ. Such methods are far better adapted to the circulation of shibboleths, apologetics, half truths and essays in deceptive rationalization than they are to the propagation of a religious truth which is not fully believed unless it is lived. Christian propagandists propose to "sell" Christianity to the American people in a way not essentially different from the way in which during the war the government sold Liberty Bonds. But it is only one among several alternative interpretations of Christianity which they can disseminate by such a method, and even if the convert is hypnotized into repeating the words, he will still lack any sufficient psychological preparation for reading them into life. To believe in the salutary importance of a formative religious truth in the sense of proposing to penetrate life with it calls for a spiritual hospitality, flexibility, continuity and concentration which cannot survive in an atmosphere of cheap opinion and which requires for its nurture a prolonged and stupendous educational discipline.

The abounding increase of the currency of opinion which tempts the practical modern man to accomplish by propaganda a result which can only be accomplished by religious education is merely one aspect of an insidious and formidable assault on the integrity of human nature which the distracted and disorganized secularism of the last one hundred and fifty years has brought in its train. Modern science was born during a twilight of religious passion and education. The state had succeeded the church as the positive organizing and binding ingredient in society. It emphasized physical order rather than moral values. The control which man obtained over nature by the advance in natural science passed into the possession of people who had no religious vision of human nature as a whole and no interest in its fulfillment. The Christian clergy were wrestling with internal doubts and scruples. They

permitted practically without protest the appropriation by a small class of politically and economically privileged people of an unprecedented sway over the lives of the mass of mankind and an unprecedented ability to compel insubordinate and indifferent people to follow their leads and obey their commands. The power of this class rests ultimately on force, but usually its members accomplish their purposes by exploiting the debased currency of opinion. They erect altars to the political or economic gods which suit their needs. They conduct propaganda on behalf of their new polytheism so as to close the popular mind to the appeal of other gods. Their object is to persuade the people to worship as sacred and sufficient a particular state or one particular form of property. But this God-state which refuses to recognize any subordination of political to religious authority, even though it hides behind the catchwords of democracy and liberty, soon degenerates into a deification of physical law and order, while the property-God is merely a reincarnation of the old demon of class selfishness which has so often and under so many disguises asked for human worship. Yet these two gods and the counter-gods of anarchy and communism which by reaction their worship has set up among the revolutionists constitute the actual religions of a secularized society which is given over to the accumulation and the exchange of particular economic, political and moral goods. They furnish the realities which focus and direct the lives of modern human beings. They explain the drift towards economic conflict, social disintegration, psychological dissociation and moral anarchy of which the existing plight of the so-called Christian peoples is the witness.

I see no way out of this morass except through the new affirmation of Christian truth as a way of life and the solemn belief in it by Christian peoples as more formative and sacred than any of the special gods of natural science, politics, economics and the world. But Christian truth in its popular expression presents grave obstacles to its own re-affirmation. The modern mind revolts against the traditional methods which the Christian ministry has used to exalt religious authority. It can not accept a supposed verbally inspired text as any sufficient reason for believing in the sacred authority of Christian Gospel any more than it can accept the Pope as the Vicar of Christ on earth. The only valid test of salutary truth is not its miraculous origin and transmission but its ability to bestow on men and women who believe in it enough to live by it the will and the knowledge to fulfill and ameliorate their lives. A regenerate Christianity must supply both non-Christians and pretended Christians with some better reason than they now have for following in the footsteps of Christ. They will not believe that by the imitation of Christ they may enter into possession of a truth which will set them free and make them whole, unless they can fortify the belief by reasons and methods which are being vindicated in experience.

Christian clergymen are reluctant to take the two radical but costly steps which will liberate Christianity from its present subjectivism and its bondage to propaganda and enable them to use Christian opinions as an introduction to a Christian life. They cannot escape from their present impotence until they congregate in large numbers on the platform of a common interpretation of Christian truth and a common understanding of how allegiance to it can transform human nature. It is fantastic for them to call on Christianity in its present distracted condition to heal the dissensions which are rending modern

civilization. Before they invoke Christianity to get rid of war among classes and nations they must first deal with their own dissensions in doctrinal conviction and ethical outlook. They and their forbears have debased the currency of religious truth, first by multiplying and over emphasizing the importance of doctrinal and ethical specialties and then, when later it became convenient to do so, by acting as if these divergent interpretations of Christianity had ceased to be of any importance. Their reason for clinging to their specialties in dogma and organization for some purposes and ignoring them for others is only too obvious. They will not pay the heavy cost of finding a better substitute. They cannot agree upon a common interpretation without asking themselves some very radical questions. Their creeds, morals, doctrines and intellectual outlook are derived from a pre-naturalistic age. In order to re-interpret Christianity they must square accounts with modern science and particularly with the science of human nature.

The calamities of the existing world are subjecting them to a searching test. Modern civilization is cracking for want of a religious truth which can earn the allegiance of men by its ability, if voluntarily accepted, to liberate and integrate human life. Christianity claims to possess this virtue and might possess it if the Christian ministry can reach a common interpretation of their faith. But they will seek it in vain merely by writing off their domestic differences one from another. Those differences derive chiefly from the obsolete ideas and knowledge with which popular Christian ethics and dogmas are overlaid. The churches must combine the task of wiping out their differences one from another with the task of coming to terms with modern science. The modern world is the creation of natural science and technology. No religion whose vision of the truth disregards or violates the standards and the achievements of secular knowledge can penetrate its life or modify its conduct.

Surely Christian clergymen to whom the imitation of Christ is the essence of Christianity should welcome the test. The attempt to comply with it will remove the existing obstacles to the transformation of Christianity from a doubtful creed or institution into a more or less authoritative way of life. Christianity as a consequence of its association with a crude science and a barbarous political and social system has for centuries been seeking in vain to domesticate itself in an alien world. No wonder that it failed. But in the course of failure it has learned certain indispensable and valuable lessons. The Christian clergy have learned the futility of propagating their faith and seeking uniformity in its interpretation by compulsion. They have sought ever since the end of the religious wars to disseminate the Christian truth by persuasion and to reach by discussion a common interpretation of it. They have made an illuminating attempt, but they are still a long way from success. They will never succeed unless they start with a different idea of the tests they must satisfy in order to demonstrate the truth of the Christian Gospel. They must be able to demonstrate, as they are now unable to demonstrate, that the men and women who imitate Christ will really start on a journey towards the liberation and integration of their own natures.

That is the ultimate reason why at any cost Christianity must enter into a treaty with modern science. If it can purge itself of its unscientific associations and ally itself with a body of knowledge which is beginning to under-

stand the world and man and man's place in the world, it should come into possession of a truth and a method which will enable it to vindicate the Christian way of life. A Christianity which is to meet the needs of modern civilization must be capable of contributing to the regeneration of the individual and society. Yet it cannot contribute to the betterment of human behavior without reforming the popular institutional Christianity of today. Formidable as the task is, we believe the Christian ministry can undertake it with a sufficient chance of success if only they will adjust their minds to its necessity. Their chance of success is born of the profound congruity between the conception of human nature revealed by Jesus Christ two thousand years ago and the conception of human nature which is now obtaining year by year, as the result of scientific investigation, increasing authority and acquiescence.

According to Jesus Christ human beings, unregenerate as they are in appearance, should be conceived as potentially regenerate. Human nature is essentially modifiable. In spite of a conflict embedded deep in its make-up, it is capable of an ultimate integrity of vision and conduct. Its possible regeneracy endows human personality with a unique quality. If we are to live in our relations with other human beings according to the counsels of the real truth, we must begin by assuming the essential sacredness of human nature, the accidental character of its immediate and occasional unregeneracy, the virtue of candidly confessing and understanding our shortcomings and the power of the Christian faith, after confession and repentance, to bring atonement (integrity) and regeneration (fulfillment) to erring human beings. Now modern science, like Christianity, is coming to see human nature as a combination of actual unregeneracy and possible regeneracy. We consist of warring elements which from the point of view of moral integrity appear at first to be fortuitous, irreconcilable and hopeless. But this irreconcilability is in part an illusion. The human mind is essentially an instrument of adjustment. Psychology and anthropology find increasing reasons for believing in the desirable modifiability of human life under the influence not merely of natural selection but of creative intelligence. It is rapidly becoming an achieved scientific truth that by virtue of a method, in which the outlook and the contrivances of the individual and social mind play a decisive part, the modification of human nature in the sense both of its corruption and its improvement is entirely possible.

Whether it is to be corruption rather than improvement depends chiefly upon the extent to which the modern civilized peoples will accept and practice as a necessary religious hypothesis or faith the Christian conception of the sacredness of human personality and confirm this religious faith by using their increasing knowledge of human behavior to give reality to it. They cannot bring about the needed regeneration as a result merely of studying human nature and learning more about its composition and ways. For human nature is actually unregenerate and only possibly regenerate. It will continue to be actually unregenerate except in so far as it affirms as an actuality its future regeneracy. Increasing knowledge and experience can never entirely vindicate this affirmative faith. The needed affirmation in advance of experience is what men mean by religion. As religion it can summon to its assistance the unique resources in symbolism, discipline, concentration and intellectual passion which will enable it to purge, renew and possess the human soul.

Yet it is equally true that an insufficiently informed

religious affirmation, no matter what the concentration and passion of belief which it inspires and no matter how beautifully and persuasively it is unfolded in symbols, will become in the long run sterile. The permanent fertility of a religious faith demands an artful and sophisticated adjustment to the world as men know it. Modern science is just beginning to supply the knowledge of human behavior in its relation to the world which will ultimately place at the disposal of Christian religion and education a new ability to give reality in life to its affirmation of human regeneracy. The Christian thinkers have always craved and frequently believed that they had attained a knowledge of this kind. The Benedictine monk, the Franciscan friar, the Puritan mystic all practiced specific rules of life which for a time imposed themselves on thousands of Christians as the only authentic and well-informed way of human fulfillment. But these moral innovators really did not and considering the condition of contemporary science could not know enough to find the way. Since the decline of Puritanism it seems as if the modern religious consciousness had ceased to feel the need of learning how to live and of teaching others to live. It is satisfied with uttering victorious words and passing victorious resolutions. Yet for the first time in human history science is endowing a religion of human brotherhood with the material out of which it may be possible to fashion an art and discipline of humane living.

Up to date neither the priests nor the philosophers have realized how much the reenforcement of religious truth by science may mean for human fulfillment. Modern science is using its new knowledge only to increase the control of man over nature and of some men over other men. But some day it will dawn on Christian ministers and on lay evangelists that the new knowledge, just in so far as it penetrates the secrets of human nature, can also be used to increase the control of man over society and over his behavior, being and destiny. The larger the knowledge of human nature the more trustworthy the art and discipline of life which ethical investigators and inventors can place at the disposal of a religious community for the better realization of its conviction of the sacredness and regeneracy of human personality. It will be the business of religious leaders to teach men how really to lead a good life, which is something they now lack the knowledge and the disposition to do. If they succeed one of the results of their success will be the creation of a quality of human life incompatible with an institution like war which receives its only sanction from human unregeneracy.

HERBERT CROLY.

The Alchemist

I burned my life, that I might find
A passion wholly of the mind,
Thought divorced from eye and bone
Ecstasy come to breath alone.
I broke my life, to seek relief
From the flawed light of love and grief.

With mounting beat, the utter fire
Charred existence and desire.
It died low, ceased its sudden thresh.
I had found unmysterious flesh
Not the mind's avid substance, still
Passionate beyond the will.

LOUISE BOGAN.

The Bandwagon

ARMENIANS, YOU DISTURB US

Mr. Appleby of New Jersey laid upon the Clerk's desk a—

Petition of the Quiet Hour Club, of Metuchen, New Jersey, urging the United States Government to protest against the withdrawal of the French troops at present protecting the Armenians.—*The Congressional Record*.

MR. HIRSHFIELD MAKES HISTORY

(Incidents in a recent public hearing, conducted by New York's Commissioner of Accounts, in connection with his investigation of anti-American, patriot-belittling propaganda in school history books:)

Commissioner of Accounts Hirshfield . . . traced the hero-scoring habit of some modern historians to the influence of "the Rockefeller crowd," which sought, he said, to keep the common people ignorant and their minds undeveloped in order to check the increase of brain workers and conserve man power for the mills and factories. . . .

Williams Pickens, a negro speaker, demanded that history confess plainly that the first man to be killed in the Boston Riot was Christmas Adams, a negro; that 5,000 negroes fought under George Washington, and that they played important parts in the Civil War and the Great War. The negro was defrauded of the respect due to him, when his deeds for the sake of the country were suppressed.

"Pardon me for interrupting you," said Commissioner Hirshfield, who is also conducting a hearing on birth control, "but I would like to ask you if the colored people advocate birth control?" . . .

No speaker appeared to defend any of the books which were attacked. Mr. Hirshfield congratulated those who attended the meeting on their courage.—*The New York Times*.

FOR UNCLE SAM, AFTER MEALS

"Think of pleasant things, like low rents, cheap gasoline, full coal bins, auto rides on smooth roads, no taxes to pay, a trip around the world, plenty of good money, and no pessimists who as the Master said to Judas, 'have the poor always with ye,' and blame God for it."—*From The Pill, "Not Bitter; Easy to Take," "a simply home remedy for Economic Flu, Industrial Collywobbles and Political Excrescences," and published by the Public Improvement League, Limited.*

GENTLE RAIN, LEGISLATIVE, ACTUAL, AND PRACTICAL
(The District of Columbia Appropriation Bill is before the House. Mr. Focht of Pennsylvania:)

". . . So it is with the snowstorms that come. You cannot control them, and if we are a little patient, as well we may be in all the events of life, something more powerful than we administer the remedy, and here it comes, and the glory of the sunshine takes away all the cause for complaint. You really have not had time to complain. You did not get in yesterday in time to offer your complaints. You waited until it was too late and until the sun had melted the snow, and it had gone out to the salted sea, to be returned again in the pure snow of the winter and the gentle rain of the spring."

(Five minutes later. The same bill is still being discussed. Mr. Focht of Pennsylvania remarks that "we are discussing the legislative, actual and practical features of it.")—*The Congressional Record*.

Translations

The Birthday of the Infanta. A pantomime with music and scenario by John Alden Carpenter, décor by Robert Edmond Jones. The Manhattan Opera House. February 2, 1922.

AFTER I Pagliacci with its hot loves and fierce dramatic lyricism, its tawny and blue and crimson world, and its tawdry and mediocre setting, *The Birthday of the Infanta* brought a strangely different atmosphere. Against the passion, laughter, revenge and death of those strolling players it set up the thin and innocent life of a little princess of twelve and her court in the midst of the rich, hard magnificence of the circumstance about them. We see first the garden courtyard of the palace. On either hand the high walls rise, flat spaces with long heavy moldings, grey varied to darker and more ashen tones. To the left at the head of a flight of steps a door, very high, with an inspired touch of greyish white in the baroque metal awning across the curve of the top; and dark red curtains showing through the glass at the sides. Across the middle of the scene and between the two walls, a sort of raised terrace and balustrade connecting them, and to the back a high iron screen through which appear the Spanish mountains, a violet silhouette hardening to blue against the cold grey-rose of the sky. It is all grave and austere and cruel and lovely, elegant, rich and superb, this place where the child princess and her court will make their festival. And the music meanwhile in that opening moment is austere, a little thin, it is innocent, lonely, continuous; and now and then it hints at the grotesque and the poignant and the frail tragedy to come.

The Infanta enters through the great door; her court surrounds her. They bring in gifts; a chest with a gown, brocade banded with galloons of gold; a huge silver cage with strange birds; a painted casket with a doll in a green farthingale. There is a birthday cake with lighted candles, there are mock rope-walkers, jugglers, and a mock bull-fight, when the ladies have taken their places on the terrace to see. And then last they bring in the grotesque. He is Pedro the dwarf and hunchback. He looks strangely about him, crooks his head, and begins to dance about for the court. He is perplexed, a lonely, vague, ashen little figure amusing the fine company, and clinging to the balustrade as he reaches out his hand to the princess above him. The Infanta and her court withdraw. And as the scene ends Pedro eludes his guard, gets his crooked legs through the door just in time, shuts it in the guard's face, and escapes into the palace.

The curtain rises then on the palace vestibule, lofty, with a high door looking out on the same cold-rose sky as before, across a terrace promenade. The scene there in the palace is crimson and grey, dull rose, gold, black. Candlesticks with their huge candles stand ten feet high, and there are two mirrors higher still. The grotesque enters; he is awestruck by the splendor around him, and then he sees the mirrors. Then, as in Oscar Wilde's story, he sees himself for the first time in all his ugliness and deformity; and dances a frenzied dance until he falls dead. After a little the princess comes in, touches him and calls him to dance for her. But he does not waken and she sees that he is dead. She lays her red rose on his cheek. They draw her away as the merry-makers from without appear in the door.

All this innocent and grotesque, sombre, ornate gaiety

Mr. Carpenter expressed, so austere is his music at times, so macabre, so hauntingly elaborated, so wistful, and so finely withdrawn. This music of the Infanta has none of the fury of sex in it, for the lives that it reveals have an ironical innocence and formality; but in them and in their music as well there is the shadow of what will mature into passion. In spite of Mr. Van Grove's rather thin conducting, especially in the first part; in spite of the miming and dancing, which lacked mass rhythm and emphasis; and in spite of Mr. Serge Oukrainsky, whose Pedro had no pathos or dramatic magnetism, the imagination of the music constantly appeared; it sustained a modern quality throughout; it had the excitement of poetic sincerity, and it carried the whole piece toward something that was inescapably drama.

Mr. Robert Edmond Jones' contribution to *The Birthday of the Infanta* if not more significant than the *Macbeth* was more complete. It was the most distinguished thing that he has done so far, it seems to me. And it is, moreover, a fine case to take as an illustration of a point that is clear to very few people and that concerns the art of the theatre as an art strictly to itself. This:—to be repeated over and over again—the art of the theatre is not a mere combination of any particular things, setting, actors, recitation, literature, for example; it is a distinct and separate art. It may be composed of many things, but it is none of them. Nothing that goes to compose this art remains as it was before becoming a part of it. The art of the theatre has ultimately its essential character; and differs from painting, literature, architecture and all its contributory arts as they differ from one another in the essential character that sustains and perpetuates each one of them. But what that separate art of the theatre is, can be more easily illustrated than defined. As an illustration of it, then, in one single respect out of the many involved, take the setting for the Infanta.

Nowhere in Spain have I seen buildings like these. But I have seen in Spain that character of sterility, of color and mass. I have seen that barbaric and cruel barrenness of sheer walls emerge, though any amount of rococo and baroque or plateresque ornamentation had been superficially laid on to soften the aspect of it. And I have seen in Spain this cold elegance pushed to the romantic; as in the Escorial, where Philip's simplicity becomes at length a glowing and sinister affectation. The character of Mr. Jones' settings then perfectly expresses the Spanish instinct, to which the actuality of buildings has been translated by the artist. But that is not the important point just here. So far they have indeed become art, it is true, but not necessarily the art of the theatre. The important thing to be said here is that this is not architecture but a translation of architecture into theatre terms.

The same is true in a region even more difficult perhaps, and certainly more elusive, the costumes. These costumes in the Infanta were not particularly interesting as reproductions of Spanish fashions toward the end of the seventeenth century. I have seen much better copies than they were or tried to be. And they were not mere clothes such as we used to see in a careful Clyde Fitch production, or garments that were costly enough and exactly borrowed from history, as in Miss Doris Keane's *Czarina*. None of these things. These costumes for the Infanta were distinguished because they were Spanish seventeenth century costumes seen superbly in terms of the theatre. They would suffer heavily—as they ought to do—if taken out of their present employment. They are inseparable from

the whole, and in themselves they are moving and exciting.

There are three high spots dramatically in *The Birthday of the Infanta*. The third and last of them is at the death of the dwarf, the very end of the play; and here the scene subordinates itself; it only envelops the action in a towering, rich shadow, and leaves the moment to the music, whose language best suits its poignant necessity. But the drama of the two others is almost entirely created by the setting. One of these places is where against those iron bars and the hard mountains beyond them, the princess and her ladies in their citron color, their crimson, blurred saffron, rose and white, gold, silver and black, sit on the balustrade above the courtyard, and the little hunchback below in his pallor and drab and green reaches up his lean hands toward the dazzling splendor of them. And the other and still more dramatic incident—and more simply achieved—is that earlier moment when the little

princess enters that great door, and stands there under the height of it and at the top of the steps leading down, a figure like a doll in all that relentless magnificence and order, symbol of the tragic puppetry of all life in the midst of time and the world's vastness, her grave and delicate little body borne along in those billowy, great skirts as her heart is borne on the waves of the music.

And finally this achievement in the décor for *The Birthday of the Infanta* illustrates remarkably how in the art of the theatre precisely as in other arts, say music, painting, poetry, the reality must be restated in terms of the art concerned before there is any art at all. It must have the charm of presence and absence, as Pascal said of portraits. An element must be there which was not there before. It must be incredibly translated into something else; it must be the same and not the same, like the moon in water, by a certain nameless difference born anew.

STARK YOUNG.

C O R R E S P O N D E N C E

In Reply to our Editorial, War and Christian Ethics

SIR: While there is much to commend in your recent editorial War and Christian Ethics, it misrepresents the spirit and action of the Protestant Churches of America through their authorized denominational assemblies and through their common federal body, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

I enclose herewith repeated actions taken by these bodies previous to 1914, and also actions, taken upon the entrance of the United States into the recent war, and since that time.

It is, I believe, untrue to say that the churches, at least during the past quarter or half century, have ever "gloried" in war.

The accompanying volume, *The Fight for Peace*, and the actions taken by the Federal Council last month, fairly represent the action and attitude of these bodies as a whole.

Indeed, so far as our Civil War and the recent war are concerned, the churches have, I believe, taken the position which your own editorial takes.

That there are all too many lapses from these ideals so far as individual members of churches are concerned, no one will deny. Your editorial, however, alleges to set forth the procedure of the churches as corporate bodies and the setting forth of their ideals, whereas every point urged in your editorial is now an article of faith in our churches, in which their members and the community are being constantly educated. That the human community is far behind these ideals, no one will deny.

It would be of value and interest to have your judgment as to the recent action of the Federal Council at Chicago as a basis for a great national movement for all good people.

I feel that a more discriminating and constructive editorial might now be helpful.

CHARLES S. MACFARLAND.

New York City.

SIR: I cannot understand the logic of your editorial on War and Christian Ethics. You commend the Churchman for the courage of an unequivocal condemnation of war; you point to the opinion of the Continent, which believes that a good cause may hallow any war, for proof that there is no hope of peace in the church because it lacks unanimity of conviction, and then you state your own position, which is essentially that of the Continent.

You think war may be the lesser of two evils and that upon that score our own entrance into the world war was morally justified. You find fault with the churches not for having hallowed it but for having gloried in it. Now it may be true that many pulpits permitted themselves such an excess of passion during the war as to justify your charge that the church

gloried in the conflict. But there were many of us who did not. We accepted it reluctantly for precisely the reason that you championed it. The question is, could we do it again with sincerity? The Wilsonian liberalism, the New Republic brand of idealism, and the principles of that not inconsiderable body of Christian opinion which did not take its guidance from official propaganda or popular hysteria, were alike of no avail when the fruits of the war were to be garnered. We failed. And most of us are beginning to feel that our failure was due to more fundamental causes than the personal weaknesses of our representatives (the singular would be better here) at Paris. Now we have nothing to salve our conscience but the highly conjectural opinion that, bad as the peace is, it is a little better than the Prussian variety offered us.

Is it not true that the forces of passion and unreason which any war unleashes are too powerful for any reasonable and conscientious interpretation of war aims? Every attempt to make war serve ideal causes is bound to be overpowered by the elemental and primitive passions which war unlooses. After witnessing the tragic consequences of the world war and the pathetic impotence of the liberals and idealists who tried to gather grapes from thistles what reasonable alternative has a conscientious Christian to a position of unequivocal opposition to all warfare? I find none in your too finely spun theories.

R. NIEBUHR.

Detroit, Michigan.

SIR: My husband and I are constant and most appreciative readers of your magazine, but I feel I must take exception to the general premises and deductions of your editorial, War and Christian Ethics, in the issue of January 11th. Granted that fallible human wisdom is in a position to judge as to which of two evils is the lesser, before either one has been given the opportunity to function, the question, it seems to me, is whether the Christian is justified in participating in any evil at all. For the ultimate salvation of mankind it is necessary that there be a class whose watchword is "No compromise with wrong-doing." A little leaven of unbending opposition to evil leaveneth the whole lump of wavering expediency-worshippers. As Thoreau puts it, "The trouble is not that many are not so good as you are, but that there is no absolute goodness anywhere." And to whom, with better logic, can we look for this "absolute goodness" than to the professed followers of Him whose teachings are summed up in a burning insistence upon the purity and integrity of thought, word, and action?

Those who excuse warfare because of the nobility of its purpose are prone to point to the American Civil War as the specific case which illustrates a wise choice of the lesser of two evils. To a thoughtful person, however, this argument is not so conclusive as it might be were he not in possession of knowledge concerning the attitude of so-called Christianity dur-

ing the century or more preceding 1865. It was the essentially un-Christian course of the Christian church, both north and south, in keeping silent about an unpopular issue, and, as happened many times, in even setting its seal of blessing upon the forehead of Slavery as a divine institution, which rendered necessary the final compromise with evil represented by the Civil War. In other words, one concession in the interest of expediency resolves itself into a long chain of compromises, each leading farther away into the by-paths and meadows of befogged moral vision. It is noteworthy that the Quakers, who, inspired by the saintly leadership of John Woolman and others of his ilk, had repudiated slavery long before other Christian denominations deemed it wise to even question such a firmly entrenched part of American civilization, refused (and, in my opinion, were nobly justified in so doing) to sanction the Civil War which resulted as the climax of the long series of concessions to evil. John Greenleaf Whittier typified their viewpoint when, in gazing upon a pike used in John Brown's raid, he remarked, "It is not a Christian weapon." And such, indeed, it was not, and was, therefore, unworthy of Christian hands.

The New Republic would substitute for this unswerving hatred and repudiation of the unclean thing it acknowledges war to be, a tempered attitude on the part of the Christian clergy. The exponents of religion should not utterly condemn war, but refuse to bestow their blessing upon it; they should not actually oppose the prosecution of physical combat, but, instead, refrain from glorying in it. I would suggest that in supposing this attitude to be a probability, the New Republic is itself "ignoring the psychological realities" of the clerical mind. I think it cannot be denied that in the beginning, at least, of every war, there are many doubts in the mind of every thoughtful Christian as to the righteousness of his course in actively supporting armed combat. He is still haunted by such troubling expressions of idealism as "Resist not evil," and "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you." In order to save his mind, therefore, from the stress of conflict which would result should his preconceived notions of Christianity and his frank realization of his present conduct come face to face, he does as Hart describes and "preserves both the opposing groups of ideas in the mind, while at the same time all contact between them is sedulously avoided." This manner of escape proving unsatisfactory to the degree that his two conflicting sets of ideas do sometimes meet, and therefore make him uncomfortable, he resorts to blessing and glorifying war as a method of rationalisation. This being true, how can the clergy fail to utterly repudiate war, and not be led in time to a glorification of it as a result of the intense desire of human nature to justify itself in a given course of conduct?

For my part, I am absolutely convinced that the brave "Churchman" is right, and that only such an abhorrence of war on the part of Christian people as will lead them to oppose it unreservedly, at whatever cost to themselves, will put an end to that unspeakable abomination.

MRS. J. ARTHUR PINO.

Lansing, Michigan.

Form and Repression

SIR: The article by Constance Rourke on the drama and the novel in your issue of January 4th, seems to me to be hunting a mare's nest. That the novel, once it has grown up should be abundant and the successful drama scarce, is natural. The drama is a difficult form, since it means the maximum of expression with the minimum of expansion, while the novel is an easy form since it can be and has been almost shapeless and still successful. Constance Rourke confines herself to England and America. It would be absurd to say that on the continent the drama has been in a poor way for two hundred years.

Since the Puritan revolution England has had its group of Restoration dramatists. Besides that it has had two dramatists whose work lives, Goldsmith and Sheridan, both Irish. England and America lack dramatists for the same reason that they lack actors. Puritanism means repression. That is, the Puritan, in order to become dramatic, had to be reeducated. Drama demands repression, but repression *by the form*, not the repressions of the dramatist. Romantic English poetry is splendid in content, in color, in exploding phrase, because it is the record of rich personalities that burst through their resistances, but

it is defective in totals of form because the mere blowing out overcame so great an opposition, that what resistance the formal problem could oppose, was slightly felt. Tennyson, the great exception, made the smallest explosion. Our last poetry of characteristic formal beauty was the Caroline.

French poetry could be interested in form because the poet reached that barrier without having burst his sides in overcoming himself. For the same reason the French and other continentals can write drama that is formally worth while and still not empty. England and America will have an art of vital substance and formal beauty only when *what* they want to say becomes to them comparatively easy, and *how* to say it becomes a vital problem. Among other good things they will then, no doubt, have a drama and also people to act their plays.

Settignano, Italy.

LEO STEIN.

Clio on the Screen

SIR: The article by Mr. Bruce Bliven in the New Republic recently, about the filming of Wells' Outline of History, reminds me of my own experience. About five years ago I conceived the idea of interpreting the history of the United States by means of the motion picture. What I had—and still have—in mind is not a mere historical spectacle or costume play but a comprehensive interpretation of all the underlying spiritual and material causes of the important historical events. By careful and judicious selection the historian could weld his material into a coherent unity, showing clearly and vividly how and why thirteen weak colonies developed into a mighty world power. The struggles of a nation resemble the struggles of individuals, except that in the former case the contest for certain ends is collective rather than individual. It would be therefore possible to dramatize history to a certain extent, while at the same time keeping within the bounds of historical truth. Such a treatment of history would bring home more vividly the meaning of America to millions of natives and immigrants. Far from being a mere succession of historical scenes, a dramatized version of history would show the actual causes and material conditions responsible for various events, for history does not just happen as one would deduce from the average textbook.

However, it is impossible to convince the hard-headed businessmen who control the moving pictures. One of the chief obstacles is the initial cost. But once produced, such a picture would retain its value for many years to come, whereas the average picture grows old with the seasons. It would be as entertaining as it would be instructive, and it could be used in theatres and schools. Let us hope that the present stagnation in the industry will force producers to turn to new subjects and methods of production.

W. H. TOLISCHUS.

New York City.

Dr. Liber Wins His Rights

SIR: On August 13, 1919, you published a full-page article entitled Dr. Liber and the Post Office concerning the unjust suppression of my Yiddish book on Sexual Life. Although ostensibly the book was made non-mailable because it was regarded as obscene, the real reason was its radicalism in social and economic questions as related to modern prostitution and venereal diseases and its advocacy of birth control. This was found out by the Division of Venereal Diseases of the U. S. Public Health Service which "put in—in vain—a strong plea for the value of the book in educating the public." At last the Solicitor of the new Postmaster under date of January 24, 1922, approved the mailing of the book, which is published by Mr. Max N. Maisel, provided certain small changes, indicated by the Solicitor, are made. As the protest has been printed in your journal, it is only fair that this triumph of free speech be also recorded here. By the way, the decision of the Post Office Department has come in the right time, as my English book The Child and the Home, which is just off the press, contains several articles on the sex life of the child which are almost literal translations from the Yiddish book and which, consequently, are made mailable at the same time.

BENZION LIBER, M.D.

Mr. Warbasse Defends Cooperation

SIR: In a recent number of the New Republic is an editorial entitled Cooperation and the State, which is a critique of an article of mine in the same number on The Cooperative Movement. My article presents the hypothesis that a society organized on the cooperative basis can perform both the social functions which (1) the present prevalent profit-making system in industry performs and (2) the functions which the socialized state aims to perform.

COOPERATION NOT EXCLUSIVE NOR COERCIVE

I am in agreement with you that Cooperation should not be "advocated as a single road to salvation." I realize that Cooperation is peculiar in that it is an evolutionary movement which proposes to win its way on its merits, through the fading state and the tottering industrial system. Therefore your assumption that "it is a vital force, but only one among the vital forces that will continue to operate as a means of meeting many of the needs of the individual, but not all of the needs" is true today and will be true for an indefinite period while Cooperation is demonstrating its superiority.

"But how will it be," ask you, "when Cooperation becomes universal and private dealers have altogether disappeared?" That is precisely what Cooperation does not seek. We co-operators simply want free play—freedom from coercion, freedom from privilege. I sincerely hope that the private individual as a producer or dealer will continue to exist, if he can serve the people better, or do things better than the people can do for themselves. The socialists of Russia wanted to abolish him altogether. Such a program is unscientific and reactionary.

The Cooperative Movement can take the place of business for private profit's sake and the place of the political state only as it is more efficient and more beneficial. It neither contemplates nor desires forceful, sudden or exclusive domination.

The absence of the use of force and coercion by the Cooperative Movement in winning its victories is surely in striking contrast with that employed by governments and profit-making business. "The successful campaigns which it has carried on against businesses which have not treated it fairly," instead of being won by coercion, as you imply, have been conducted by means of fair, open, economic competition. Cooperation has either bought out its unfair rivals (this is the means by which it "subjugated" the Swiss meat packers), or eliminated them by organizing similar industries of its own. This is hardly comparable to the ruthless use of coercion by which the mine owners of West Virginia maintain their supremacy, or the stupid use of force by which governments seek to overcome their rivals. Would that the North had avoided the use of force by buying out the slave owners of the South sixty years ago!

THE DELINQUENT

"A cooperative asylum for the insane; a cooperative detention place for habitual criminals" do not appeal to the editors of the New Republic; but I am quite sure that neither does the present political administration of these institutions. Illness below the base of the skull gets pretty decent treatment, but above that horizontal it is unspeakably bad, whether it manifests itself as insanity or criminality. However, Cooperation gives a guarantee of the "hope it can inspire" of a just and humane care of these unfortunates. This I feel justified in concluding from my recent observations in Europe, of the effective institutional and private care which Cooperation bestows upon its sick and infirm.

COOPERATIVE PENSIONS AND INSURANCE

That "cooperative old age pensions, sickness and accident insurance may have something to say for themselves" is quite true. Last month I visited the homes of the pensioners of the Cooperative Society of Ghent. Compared with the care of the aged poor which the political governments bestow, the two are wide apart. The first is self-respecting and decent. I am familiar with the second only in the United States of America and Great Britain, where the aged poor should thank their arteriosclerosis for a general benumbing of their sensibilities. I have also visited the clinics and studied the cooperative insurance organizations of Europe, and find these organizations superior to similar enterprises conducted by the state. The Volharding, of The Hague, is a cooperative society of 90,000 families which does precisely what the Lloyd George Insurance act aims to do in Great Britain. But in the former the service

is better; the sick receive more prompt attention; the society manufactures its own medicines; it has its own laboratories, its own x-ray clinic, its own drug stores and a system of delivering medical supplies which no political administration has yet dreamed of; it secures the loyal services of a higher type of physician; and the cost to the sick is about one half that of the redtape-enmeshed British political system. Insurance is one of the largest parts of the European Cooperative Movement.

THE SCHOOL

As to schools, my chief objection to the "public school" is that it is an adjunct and propaganda agency of whatever privileged forces control the political government. I can think of no more serious indictment. Of course our good people say, "Let the good people capture the political state and make the school good." But they have been capturing it for a hundred years, and the more they capture it, I will not say the worse it becomes; but I will say, the worse *they* become. There is probably no organized agency in the United States operating today that is destroying the goodness of more good people than our political government. That it is corrupt is bad enough; but that it is corrupting, is worse. We have right here in New York City three bonafide cooperative schools, organized, owned, financed, controlled and administered by the consumers—the students. I have examined them. They are superior to similar schools run for profit or by the political state.

You "find it difficult to see how progress would be made through the general substitution of schools supported by co-operators for schools supported by tax-payers." That is, perhaps, because you do not see that institutions indirectly controlled through the political government are inferior to those controlled directly by the people who use them. The two are utterly different and based upon two widely separated principles. Briefly, the best results are obtained when the people own the things they administer.

I personally believe in private ownership in preference to public ownership. I want the people to have more property and governments less. The fuss in favor of public ownership springs from the fact that the ownership of property is not equitably distributed. Taking the property away from the people and giving it to the political state does not solve the problem. Cooperation equitably combines the principles of collectivism with that of personal ownership.

COOPERATION AND POLITICS

The editors of the New Republic state that "the weakness of the movement in its struggle with the Bolsheviks" can be in part explained by its abstention from politics before the war. But it appears to me that had it engaged in politics during the Tsarist period the chances are that they would have guessed wrong and would have paid an even worse penalty. The subjugation of the Russian Cooperatives by the Soviet government was rather due to the inevitable tendency of the socialist state to bring all industry, even cooperative, under the domination of the state. In Belgium and northern Italy, however, the co-operators and socialists are identical. Each renders aid to the other; which is in agreement with the suggestion of the editors "that with a vigorous cooperative movement there is a fair hope that political reforms will no longer prove illusory, and that with a vigorous movement for political reforms many grave obstacles can be cleared away from the path of the cooperative movement." This is sound political economy. But we should not put too much dependence upon the latter half of the statement. Cooperation is a movement in the industrial and economic field. Who controls this controls the politics.

It is commonly said that the Danish legislators help the Cooperative Movement and are constantly passing favorable laws. This is quite true. But the Danes have made Denmark the most highly civilized country in the world by first realizing that the government could do little for them, and then proceeding to develop their cooperative movement quite apart from the state. As they developed a strong Cooperative Movement they secured better economic conditions and a better civilization. When the majority of the Danes became co-operators, and when the majority of the voters were co-operators, the majority of elected representatives became co-operators. Denmark has good and favorable laws because they are made by co-operators.

In the discussion of politics, we must be careful not to mistake the shadow for the substance.

J. P. Warbasse.

New York City.

Light on the Franco-Russian Alliance

L'Alliance Franco-Russe, par Henri Welschinger. Paris: Félix Alcan.

SLOWLY the official myth about the war and its origins is being dissolved by sunlight. The catastrophes in Germany, Russia, and Austria brought into open day thousands of documents that were not intended for the general public. Shaken from its stoic silence by the revelations from Petrograd, the French government published certain well-selected, but very informing documents on the relations of Pont-aux-Chantres and quai d'Orsay. Active participants in the grand game between 1891 and 1914 are preparing their full-length portraits for posterity.

Every movement shakes the solid structure of the official thesis. Investigators, from one motive or another, piece together the new bits of evidence that flow from many sources and give the old story an ever new setting. Fortunately for our understanding of the Franco-Russian entente, Henri Welschinger, a very staunch friend of that concert of powers, has brought together the most important documents issued by the French government in 1918, illuminated by commentary and side lights. It is now possible to trace with a fair degree of precision the bold outlines of that fateful arrangement.

Without going back of 1886, it appears that Katkof, the editor of the *Gazette de Moscou*, and Elie de Cyon began in that year their propaganda for a Franco-Russian understanding. We may dismiss as hardly relevant the German accusation that Katkof received money from de Lesseps to carry on his operations. The next year, between May and December, important relations were established between the Russian Ministry of Finance and the *Haute-Banque Française* which ended in an arrangement with the Rothschilds for a grand debt conversion and opened the French financial market wide for Russian loans.

Between 1880 and 1905, according to Welschinger's estimates, at least sixteen Russian loans were floated in France amounting all together to about twelve billion francs, not counting underwritings for many railways, banking institutions, and private enterprises. After 1905 the amount was increased by still greater advances. "The success of the Russian loan of 1888," remarks Welschinger, "facilitated by the *Crédit Foncier*, had a remarkable effect upon the concord so heartily desired."

Newspaper propaganda was under way. Financial relations were being forged in bonds of gold. In 1889 the French government sent a squadron to the Baltic on a pleasure trip, and the Tsar received it with a great show of affection even though it involved his standing hat in hand while the Marseillaise, played by a band of *sans-culottes*, beat upon his imperial ears! At the same time, General Boisdeffre, of the French general staff, attended the grand Russian manoeuvres and was delightfully entertained by his new companions in arms. The Marquis de Breteuil, a French gentleman of the old school, visited the Russian ambassador at a watering place and discussed with him, quite informally of course, the idea of an entente between the two countries. Then the head of the Russian foreign office wrote, in a general way, that a cordial understanding between the two countries would be the best guarantee of peace and necessary to maintain a just balance

of European powers. The French foreign minister replied favorably, saying that he was prepared to "examine the suggestions" on the subject of an alliance as a protection in case of a threat of hostilities on the part of the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria, and Italy).

After many *pourparlers* and much correspondence, the understanding was embodied in an exchange of notes, formally concluded on August 27, 1891. The text of the document is very short. The object of the accord is said to be the maintenance of the general peace. The two governments agree to act in concert on every question that threatens to put peace in jeopardy. They also agree to discuss at once the measures necessary for immediate and simultaneous cooperation in case of a menace of war.

The gentlemen's understanding was supplemented by conversations by the representatives of the two general staffs—conversations which bore fruit in a military convention formally concluded on January 4, 1894. This convention provided for combined and instant operations in case either of the parties was attacked by any of the powers of the Triple Alliance, for immediate mobilization without preliminary notice, and for forward movements to the frontiers. The number of men to be employed against Germany was agreed upon, future conferences were provided for, a no-separate-peace clause was inserted, the duration of the convention was fixed at the life of the Triple Alliance, and strict secrecy was pledged. The Tsar wanted a clause to the effect that the treaty should be regarded as null if France provoked war, but he gave up the idea when it was pointed out by his military advisers that it was a purely defensive arrangement.

Fêtes, exchanges of visits, military conferences, felicitations, and vague allusions to the new friendship between France and Russia followed the ratification of the agreements. There was an abundance of conversations and correspondence. But no one outside of the official circles knew just what had taken place. Wise men exchanged knowing looks and did all that they could to strengthen the ties thus formed. The French purse was opened wide to Russian borrowers. The Paris police were more active in apprehending Russian refugees from justice. Criticism of the Russian autocracy was outlawed in polite circles.

As time went on it occurred to French diplomats that the accord was not exactly in the precise terms which the situation demanded. In the summer of 1899 M. Delcassé broached the subject in a conversation with the Tsar. He pointed out two very significant things: First, that the accord was a purely defensive one, directed against the Triple Alliance and designed merely to maintain the peace of Europe, and secondly, that the military convention would come to an end with a dissolution of the Triple Alliance. These interesting suggestions profoundly impressed the Tsar, especially as M. Delcassé accompanied them by these ingenious reflections: "What would happen if the Triple Alliance should be dissolved otherwise than by the will of its members; if, for example, the Emperor Francis Joseph, who appears at the moment to be the sole bond of union between the rival, yes, belligerent, races of Austria-Hungary, should suddenly die; if Austria were menaced by a dislocation which perhaps is desired in some quarters, which perhaps one might favor, and in which one, in any case, would be led to wish to take part? What matter is more likely to break the general peace and destroy the European balance of power? And what matter more

seriously requires the union of France and Russia not only in the same design but in its execution? Now it is exactly at the precise hour when the military convention should come into play that it ceases to exist; born of the Triple Alliance it would vanish with it."

The argument of M. Delcassé, the implications of which are too patent to call for comment, touched the Tsar in a tender spot. An exchange of notes was at once begun ending in a revision of the accord of 1891. The original understanding stated that France and Russia were desirous of maintaining the general peace; the revision of 1899 adds "and the equilibrium of the European powers." The original military compact provided that it should last as long as the Triple Alliance; the revision of 1899 stipulates that it shall remain in force as long as the diplomatic agreement concluded for the purpose of safeguarding the common and permanent interests of the two countries.

From year to year the military bonds of the high contracting parties were strengthened by numerous conversations. Finally, in 1912, the Tsar expressed to the French ambassador his desire for a naval convention drawn along the lines of the military understanding. The appropriate negotiations were held and in midsummer the new document was signed. This agreement provided for naval co-operation in case of war. The details were to be worked out by supplementary conversations. The proper naval authorities were instructed to study the various hypotheses of war, to correspond directly, to arrange strategic programs, and to keep their affairs under the bond of secrecy.

Secrecy—that is the mysterious word. Everything was to be kept within the official circles. The very first document in the French official book contains a lament of the French ambassador that the constitution of his country does not permit the executive to make treaties alone. But he is cheered by the thought that "there is left the sphere of military negotiation." Military officers could confer without asking the consent of anybody except their superiors, and they could keep secrets better than politicians. So all the detailed work was left to the military officers of the two countries.

More than once, members of the Chamber of Deputies attempted to draw the ministers out on the question of the exact relations established by the understanding. In November, 1896, M. Millerand asked whether it was a simple treaty or a military convention that bound the two countries and what was the extent and bearing of the agreement. In the midst of considerable disturbance he expressed astonishment that he, a deputy, was not permitted to inquire about the nature of the accord. "Is the republic," he exclaimed, "the government of the people bound to hand over to a few men the uncontested direction of its destiny?" M. Jaurès said that it followed from the uniform silence of the minister on the subject that the treaty was an illusion or more likely that the government of France had lost the right to speak freely to France.

The minister of foreign affairs replied simply that the country and all reasonable statesmen approved the Russian policy. He added that everything that could and should be safely said in public had already been said. He refused to go into details and the Chamber approved his reticence.

Two years later another debate arose. Again M. Millerand and Jaurès wanted to know the exact nature of the treaty. Once more the minister of foreign affairs replied simply in generalities. He told them that it was

impossible to make known the terms of the entente—the facts spoke so loudly that it was not necessary to say anything more. For the Chamber of Deputies that laconic remark was sufficient to warrant a vote of approval.

Thirteen years more elapsed. Momentous events had taken place. All members of the inner circle knew that Europe trembled on the verge of a crisis. On April 6, 1911, a stormy debate arose in the Senate. Pacifists assailed the treaty as a cause of war. Intransigents wanted to know whether the treaty had not merely guaranteed the status quo to the advantage of Germany. That was a delicate subject, but the minister of foreign affairs did not shrink from it. He replied hotly that the treaty did not merely guarantee the status quo but covered all eventualities and permitted the contracting parties to conceal their policies and draw all possible advantages from the concert. He warned them that the matter of Alsace-Lorraine would have to be settled before the pacifist idea of general arbitration could be adopted—a statement which brought the assembly to its feet. "We are pacific," he declared, "but we say that too often and sometimes too loudly." He closed by telling them that France would be firm in respecting all rights and equally firm in discharging all her duties. Once more the answer of the minister proved satisfactory to the great majority of his colleagues. The grand alliance remained curtained in darkness.

Running through the serried documents is the thread of the lost provinces. The Tsar once remarked to M. de Montebello: "I often hear people speak of the ideas of revanche which exist among you and are used as a menace. I see no justification for that. You would not be good Frenchmen if you did not cherish the thought that a day will come in which you may enter into possession of your lost provinces; but between that sentiment and the idea of a provocation to realize it there is a great distance, and you have proved it many times—and will prove it again—that you wish peace above all and that you know how to wait with dignity." While the negotiations were on between the military men of the two countries, the Russian representative frankly asked this question: "When you once have your military convention signed will you not precipitate things and make war?" It was for that very reason that the Tsar once insisted on a provision declaring the treaty void if war was provoked by France; but his fears seem to have been allayed—to some extent, as the above remark implied.

In the course of the debates in the French Parliament, the same theme came up in various forms. In 1896, M. Millerand wanted to know what advantages had been secured in return for the engagements with Russia and whether obligations of active friendship had been imposed on the new ally. He bluntly asked whether it was necessary for France to resign herself to the acceptance of the *fait accompli*—making an evident allusion to Alsace-Lorraine that called forth great applause. He was especially eager to know whether the country incurred the risk of being abandoned in a hour of grave danger. In the later debates, the same burning issue arose and the minister for foreign affairs, while refusing to be precise, gave his auditors to understand that the accord with Russia did not provide for a mere guarantee of the status quo, but for all eventualities. It was not necessary to say more. France could wait with dignity and firm resolve on—on what?

Merci, M. Welschinger.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

Gauguin

Paul Gauguin, His Life and Art, by John Gould Fletcher. New York. Nicholas L. Brown. \$2.00.

GAUGUIN was a mystic who wore through his veneer of civilization to barbarism, though the grapple of the two went on in him to the last. But most of the advantage went to the primitive, as every one knows. "I am a savage," he said, "and the civilized feel this; because there is nothing in my work that could produce bewilderment save this savage strain in me, for which I am not responsible. It is therefore inimitable." To such a grappling of natures Gauguin had an ancestry proper to the last degree. His father was a petty journalist from Orléans, a Liberal. His mother was the daughter of a certain Chazal, otherwise unknown, and the Socialist pamphleteer and agitator Flora Trisan. This Flora Trisan was born in Peru, the daughter of a Spanish nobleman who was an important figure under the Peruvian Republic. She eloped with Chazal from her school in Paris, was disowned by her parents, and not long after left her husband and became a pioneer of woman's suffrage, humanitarianism and the trades-union movement. She met Chazal again, who stabbed her in a fit of jealousy and got twenty years of penal servitude for it. She herself died a few years later and the unions put up to her oratory and her lovely face a monument in Bordeaux. A Socialist-Anarchist Blue-Stocking, Gauguin calls her in his *Intimate Journals*. There was this Spanish blood, then, with its strains of Arab, Celt, African and Latin; violent French blood from Chazal, and on the Peruvian side who knows what Indian strains. Sources enough for Gauguin with his headstrong irritability and violence, his power and bravado, his love of individual liberty and hatred of mental and moral restraint, his scorn of everything middle-class, his pride, his stoicism, his haughty and impassable reserve.

All this complexity within him Gauguin strove always to bring to some noble simplicity and repose. "Let everything you do," he told his pupils, "breathe peace and calm of soul. Avoid all animated attitudes. Each of your figures should be perfectly static. Give everything a clear outline." This peace and calm and clear outline in his soul led him at length to the primitive. But this primitive in Gauguin came out of infinite complexity and thought and will. In exactly the same way the calm line and simplicity of his pictures came from immense knowledge and great versatility in the arts. Knowledge he got easily always, to sift it for his own uses was where he had to labor; so that he once declared that all he had learned from others was an impediment to him, and added, "It is true that I know little, but what I know is my own." Those elemental designs of his are the fruits of a knowledge as wide as that of William Morris, as wide and, though not so gracious and not so obvious, more distinguished.

For anyone setting out to write the biography of such a man there would seem to be endless obstacles. Not only the things that Gauguin himself never got straight for himself, but every kind of conflicting evidence is in the biographer's way. Gauguin was passionately, fiercely sincere at bottom. In his daily life he put on masks of bluntness, vividness, reserve, brutality, crudity, philosophizing, as the moment needed or his wayward whim dictated. Out of vanity and out of love for his art he posed shamelessly.

But the suffering he endured showed what his art meant to him. "I have known," he wrote in a little notebook that he dedicated to his daughter, "extreme misery, that is to say hunger and everything that follows on hunger. It is nothing, or almost nothing. One grows used to it, and with will-power one can end by laughing at it. But what is terrible is to be prevented from working, from developing one's intellectual faculties. It is true that suffering sharpens one's ability. But it is necessary not to suffer too much or suffering will kill you. With a great deal of pride I have ended with having a great deal of energy, and I have forced myself to be full of will-power." That is the fundamental Gauguin. But around this twisted the exotic, the fantastic, the myth-loving fibres of him. The tone of his *Intimate Journals* is full of bravura and rough reserve and childish naughtiness. And *Noa Noa*, the book that he wrote about his life in Tahiti, which might have been autobiographical in the exact sense, is really only an ideal account. It is a book with the same kind of beauty in it that his pictures have, I think; but it can be read as true only as his pictures are true. It tells us only the highest truth that his spirit found in the life of this primitive world; on the more actual side Gauguin would have had to write that he was even more unhappy in Tahiti than he had been in France. And then last in the biographer's way, so far as his readers go, stands that unfortunate novel about the Moon and Sixpence, of Mr. Somerset Maugham's, a silly book, full of vulgar misunderstanding and cheap lure.

When Gauguin said that his quality was inimitable he might have said also that it was nearly inexpressible. And yet the line of him comes clear, I think, if you know his art and if you believe with Flaubert that the man is nothing, the work all. And Mr. Fletcher has caught this outline. His account of Gauguin is that of one artist writing about another. The things that count in Gauguin's life and art remain in the mind when the reading ends. No time is lost with enticing but idle justification of the art and the artist or of outraged middle-class morality and smugness. Mr. Fletcher leaves out all the little shocks by which Mr. Maugham's sixpenny moon shines. *Epater le bourgeois* has no place in his thoughts either for or against. He gives us what we need for Gauguin, a sense of tremendous, suffering power; of stoicism, pride, weakness and energy; a life all expressed in an art that was its delight and its destruction, as Leonardo said; the sense of something fateful over it all like the great course of nature.

I find that the main lack in Mr. Fletcher's book has to do with Gauguin's art. He makes his point rightly enough that Gauguin was the renaissance of an old art, not the beginning of a new tradition, that his goal for both form and color is decoration. That Gauguin is a better stone on which to build than some of the visionaries, like Blake for example, because he never, like Blake, denied the earth, "the delusions of the goddess Nature," but remained always to the end a man. He establishes the background and sources of Gauguin's painting, sympathetically and in a statement that is itself no small work of art. But I should like more of a treatment of the work itself. Not alone its idea and its departure from the Cubists and Vorticists and its relation to the Synthetists. Mr. Fletcher does all that clearly enough. But more about the paintings themselves. More about that decoration of his own dream that Gauguin made. More comment on the progress of Gauguin's art toward its characteristic as shown

from picture to picture. More relating of Gauguin's art to other masters, Veronese, for example, and Ingres and Cézanne.

Obviously painting is its own description and speech, but the right words may be an accompanying voice. I think the book would gain by more talk about that uproar of sunlit pictures that pursued Strindberg in his sleep. More of Eve too and those faces the naïve perversity of whose eyes are opened to the freshness of things, as Achille Delaroche said. More of that blazing flora too, in a world unknown to scientists. More about his incredible use of leaves and the branches of trees, of hands, and flowers and those animals that are as beautiful as in old Persian scenes. All this to give more point and warmth to the brief explanations of Gauguin's art and theory.

S. Y.

The Psychology of Nations

The Psychology of Nations. A Contribution to the Philosophy of History, by S. E. Partridge. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$2.50.

AT the back of his dual volume Mr. Partridge enumerates one hundred books on war and nations and such which he has read, dissolved in his mind, and then precipitated in this long-winded and redundant statement of his opinions about "national consciousness and the motives of war" and "the educational factor in the development of nations." His readings appear to persuade him that "national consciousness" or patriotism is not only an innocuous but a helpful thing, consisting essentially in a sort of aesthetic appreciation of "the totality of life" of a group in a land. This totality is personified and attack on it makes for war, which in return intensifies the feeling that justifies it; justifies it, but need not cause it. What causes war is quite a different thing. What causes war is the "will to power." Not the will to power as that is usually understood, either by the *machtpolitiker* or the Nietzschean metaphysicians. The will to power that Mr. Partridge means is the will to the *feeling* of power which men get when they are drunk. National honor, the prestige of empire (though empire may be a vampire sapping the life-blood of the nation), economic interests and such are all afterthoughts as causes of war. They are reasons which politicians invent and philosophers assign; they are garments for the nakedness of the real cause of war—"the motive of power," which is satisfied whenever "specific instinctive reactions and feelings" induce "ecstatic states" of the sort which all the purely esthetic elements in social life tend to produce. "Ecstatic states" is psychologese for a jag.

Mr. Partridge opines that the jag—his other term for it is "intoxication mood"—is the be-all and end-all of all social impulses, and that the great vogue of war—with its raptures of fear and anger, of tragedy, of death made good and glorious, of ugliness and hatred idealized and made beautiful, noble and good, of uniforms, bands, and decorations—is due to the universal jag it generates. (Prohibition, on this basis, would be its friend: in America war would function as a corrective for the 18th amendment.) "War is perpetuated because of its heroic form, as a form of experience in which the meaning of life is felt to be exploited, in which life is transformed and

glorified, in which the tragedy of life, which in any case is inevitable, becomes a tragedy which, because it bears the form of art, is acceptable and even longed for. This is the allurements of war, its persistent illusion, perhaps." The aesthetic forms of war take war out of the fields of reason, and on occasion make it transcend or pervert reason. For war is the "intoxication mood" of the whole community, the product of "the idealism of nations, leading them to the larger life"—i. e.: to the state of ecstasy or the glorious drunk. Man thus wants war, his whole nature craves it. To abolish it requires a conversion of his will, not a persuasion of his reason. Reason is powerless before ecstasy.

In which there is some veracity, more imagination, some originality and more inadvertence. The veracity must be apparent to anyone who has at all considered the mental phenomena of war among the civilian populations, men and women alike. Very many—of the upper and leisure classes certainly—did live like drunkards, more intensely, more abundantly and more incompetently and irrationally and blindly than in peace times. The imagination comes with the assumption that what was true for these was true as well for the soldiers in the field or the workers in the factory. The originality comes in the identification of the war mood with aesthetic and ecstatic moods in general and these with the "will to power." The inadvertence is conspicuous in the whole abstract character of the speculation with its complete dependence on books, its complete disregard of the actual history of the motives, origins, moods, development, and cessation of different wars, including the Great War, and the relations of these things of the different levels and groups of the national community. If Mr. Partridge had taken the pains to examine the facts instead of speculations about the facts, he would in all probability have given a much modified account of war and its relation to nationality.

The same abstractionism and inadvertence are even more conspicuous in Mr. Partridge's device for the conversion of the human will. This device is not an original invention of Mr. Partridge's. It has a considerable antiquity, and it involves in the United States certainly, and in other countries relatively, a tremendous investment in plant, machinery, more or less skilled workmen, and superintendence. It involves allied and secondary vested interests, like those of publishing houses, school supply companies and such; in involves political or sectarian interests, like those of the Lusk Committee or the economic or religious sects. The usual, perhaps incorrect, name for this device is education. Mr. Partridge pays no regard whatsoever to the facts of its case as a going concern. He offers a set of improvements upon it as if it existed *in vacuo*, or were at least an independent variable which could be manipulated without modifying anything else it is associated with: "education as nothing else can be changed without risk and politics is hopeless." To change it, he wants it provided with a new history—more Mr. Wells—which would teach the "world idea"; he wants to reeducate national desires by making the educational system "open to all new and good influences, and the school immediately responsive to those influences." He wants both to conserve the war spirit and to render the international idea "pedagogically persuasive," with patriotism playing the role of "loyalty to country as a functioning unit in a world of nations . . . devotion to all the aspects and functions of a country as an historical entity." The country itself he conceives after the manner of the Hegelian state,

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and its government he nevertheless conceives in the democratic manner as a universal servant for providential public janitor, easing life for everybody, but not coercing them.

He wants radicalism avoided; industry so reorganized as to appeal to creative impulse, and humanism, i. e. the idea that "the child should understand and appreciate the meaning and worth of all human life" made the final objective of education. He thinks that the United States is already humanist and presents a "concrete contrast" to the anti-humanism of the Germans. And he wants all this farrago of ideas and kindness of sentiment to be passed on to the human young through aesthetic experiences, through the contagion of "moods," these being in his regard the total complexes of action, the seats of the will to power and the forms of the ecstatic states of consciousness and abundant life. By means of them education will abolish war, the anachronism, "the archaic expression of the will to power"; it will make motives that have worked evil do good.

All of which must be a great satisfaction to Mr. Partridge. Having formulated an abstract and ambiguous idea of country which considers everything but the facts in the case, having ignored definitive trends in social life and their implication for the educational system and its control, he provides a collection of speculative, inconclusive and mostly irrelevant ideas about the institutions of society, makes them all the content of an endemic jag and then says, Educate. Assuredly. When society, its institutions and controls will have become the sort of thing Mr. Partridge wants them to be, public school teachers and their ilk may be provided by public school superintendents with prepared lessons and ready-to-use text books that will communicate to children the ideas about society that Mr. Partridge composes the instruments of education with.

Meanwhile, we are exactly where we were. If Mr. Partridge is in earnest, here is a practical suggestion for him. Let him personally persuade of his ideas on patriotism and such, Senator Lusk and Archibald Stevenson, the National Security League and the American Legion; and let him seduce contracts for his new histories out of the American Book Company or the Ginn. What fun he would have! Oh, boy!

H. M. KALLEN.

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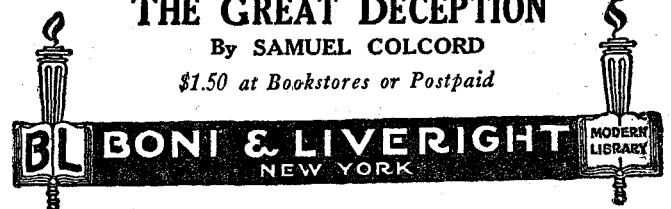
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